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**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**AUSTRIA.**







FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA, AND THE EMPRESS.  
THE PALACE OF LUXEMBURG.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
AUSTRIA,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY THE  
REV. ALFRED H. NEW,  
AUTHOR OF "THE CORONET AND THE CROSS," "THE VOICE OF THE  
BIBLE TO THE AGE." &c.

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN the following pages the author has endeavoured to present to the English reader a connected History of the Austrian dominions. Three great events mark it off into as many distinct periods. In the first, he has rapidly penned the events of its ancient history down to the establishment of the vast empire of Charlemagne ; in the second, he has briefly narrated its struggles in the middle ages down to the reign of Maximilian I. ; and in the third, he has delineated, with an increasing fulness of detail, the modern History of Austria to the commencement of the present Italian war. His aim has been to compress the whole within the limits of a single volume, whose price and size shall attract the general reader ; and at the same time to detail the events with sufficient minuteness to render its perusal interesting and instructive.

The Austrian empire occupies one of the most important positions on the continent of Europe. Its situation gives to it considerable political power ; and its natural advantages might secure for it great commercial importance. It enjoys almost every variety of climate, and could produce within its own territories most articles of commerce. Its mines are rich in the precious and other metals, and minerals, and with greater skill and more capital might be extensively worked. Its forests contain the finest oak-trees in Europe ; its Lombardian plains furnish large

quantities of silk, rice, and pasture ; its Bohemian fields are fragrant with hops and flax ; and its Hungarian vineyards furnish a rich aromatic wine.

It is to be regretted that this fine country has been blighted and its prosperity destroyed by the disaffection of its inhabitants, and the tyranny of its rulers. The animosity arising from difference of race and religion is most powerful ; and the empire is ever threatened with commotion arising from the mutual hatred of the German, Slavonic, Finnish, and other races. This hatred, instead of being allayed by a conciliatory policy, is increased by the intolerant administration of the imperial ruler. The principle of government is a centralised, despotic autocracy ; the constitutional liberty, under which each race long remained as happy and as loyal as a subject race can be, has been completely destroyed ; promises of freedom and the restoration of ancient privileges have been repeatedly made and broken ; and disaffection is engendered by the oppressive and unequal rule of jesuitical dogmatism.

With a population of thirty-eight million persons, an army of five hundred thousand soldiers, a revenue of two hundred and fifty million florins, a small navy to protect the commerce of the Adriatic, a country whose resources are not half developed, and a position which gives importance in the balance of European power, Austria might be a great, powerful, and splendid empire, whose friendship would be courted and her enmity deprecated, and whose throne, firmly planted on constitutional freedom and equity, would be resplendent with the talents of an illustrious house, and the genius and industry of free, enlightened, and contented subjects. Will the Hapsburg dynasty ever give up its traditionary policy and realise such an empire ?

A. H. N.

*July 20th, 1859.*



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# THE HISTORY OF AUSTRIA.

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## PART I. THE EARLY AGES.

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### CHAPTER I.

AUSTRIA UNDER THE ROMANS. IV. CENT. B.C.—A.D. 476.

WHILE Rome was struggling with her various foes, and gaining great power and importance by the numerous and rich domains she added to her empire, there was a territory beyond the Alps, slumbering in peaceful oblivion, which was to exert no slight influence on the destiny of the imperial city. Long before Germany was known to the Romans, different tribes of barbarians had spread themselves over the wild regions which were separated from the peaceful plains of Italy by the Alps. Vast forests of oak stretched from one part of the land to the other, where trees of a gigantic size entwined their branches, and formed such a dense barrier, that scarcely a summer's ray penetrated the mass, and dispelled the gloom beneath. Lofty ranges of mountains created great diversity in the scenery; sometimes rising in sublime majesty, with rocky peaks or snow-clad tops; sometimes waving with the forests which covered their sides, and afforded shelter to the buffalo, elk, bear, wolf, and wild boar; and occasionally forming delightful valleys, clothed with verdure, where a few rude huts and flocks of cattle indicated the residence of a tribe. No town or city then relieved the monotony; no bridge crossed the streams which rolled their waters through fertile plains; no road pointed out the constant intercourse of tribe with tribe. Nursed in the solitude of nature, and hardened by the toil of the forest, the ancient German roved from place to place, as often as the necessities of life were required.

We enter not into the maze of antiquities to consider the question, Who were the first inhabitants that occupied these regions?—Whether they were descended from Æneas, who wandered from Troy, or whether they belonged to the eastern tribes, which were constantly migrating westward? Any one who is curious about

these particulars, and also about the early changes of these tribes in name and locality, can see the whole profusely and elaborately treated by the German historians; who, with a patience and research one cannot but praise, have tried to rescue from the dreams of fables the first inhabitants of their native land. We may, however, remark, that Tacitus mentions Thuisko, who is reported to have sprung out of the earth, as the common ancestor of the German tribes; and that Gaupp has sought to refer all the tribes to two distinct sources, the Suevi and the Non-Suevi; that under the first he includes the Suevi, Alemanni, Bavarians, Burgundians, Goths, Alani, Vandals, and Gepidæ, while under the second he places the Franks, Saxons, Lombards, Thuringians, and Friedlanders; and that the chief distinction between them appears to be, that the Suevi were shepherds, and roved about in great masses, while the Non-Suevi had settled dwellings, and practised husbandry.

The ancient inhabitants were remarkable for their strength, their bravery, and their unquenchable love of freedom. Clothed in the rough skins of beasts, they braved the storms which swept over frozen tracts, and were nerved for predatory excursions, or internecine war. Their manners were rude, yet simple; their laws few, but rigorous; their hospitality generous and free; and their social virtues dignified by a sense of honour, elasticity, and love. They cherished a manly independence in all their tribes—the despot never flourished for a moment, nor were the chains of tyranny ever forged among them. They were strangers to fear, except that of dying by disease; and would rush with the rapidity of a torrent upon their enemies, resolved either to drive them before them, like chaff before the wind, or to die as heroes on the battle-field. They selected their judge in the time of peace, who rigorously dealt out justice to all; and when war threatened them, they met in a free assembly, and chose the most renowned warrior as their chief. They bound themselves by a solemn oath to his person; if he died, they were too happy to share his fate; but if victorious, they gloried in his achievement, and participated in his triumph. Their courage in war was sustained by their religious faith; for their fancy pictured the Walkyren, or heavenly maidens, hovering over the field of battle, and selecting the expiring heroes as the companions of their joys in Paradise. They worshipped many gods, among whom Wodan, Odin, Thor, and Freya, were conspicuous; while they peopled the springs and lakes, the forests and caves, with innumerable nymphs and fairies. The groves were their temples; horses, and on rare perilous occasions human victims, their sacrifices; and small cakes and treasures their votive offerings. Occasionally the top of a mountain was selected as their place of worship, where they might behold the rising sun, and hail the approach of the great parent of light and heat. Their faith was strengthened and their courage aroused by the varied strains of their bards, who, when seated around their hearths, chanted the glories of Odin's heavenly palace, where the heroes revelled in celestial pleasures; and who pronounced, with holy frenzy on the field of battle, the exploits of past ages, and

thrilled the assembled hosts with enthusiasm to follow the example of their ancestors. The captives of war became slaves to the conquerors, were treated with kindness, and not unfrequently presented with their freedom, when one tribe overran another, and took possession of the fresh territory. They generally performed all the acts of tillage, as the women attended to domestic concerns; while the German, in time of peace, indulged his slothful propensities, which contrasted strangely with his fierceness in time of war. Gambling was a prevailing vice; and Tacitus relates, that, in the height of excitement, they would stake all their property, and even their persons, and quietly submit to be sold into slavery if the throw of the dice were against them. They were also noted drunkards; and drank beer and mead with such avidity, that they soon rolled in a beastly intoxication. Such were the denizens of these wild regions, before the light of civilisation broke in upon them, and before the elevating principles of Christianity raised them in their social and religious condition.

It was not long before some of these fierce tribes were brought into contact with the Roman legions. The Senones and the Boii, occupying respectively the districts of modern Swabia and Bavaria, were induced to leave their rough districts for the sunny south. In the fourth century B.C., a carpenter brought to them some grapes and fruit from the plains of Italy. Their desire for the possession of such a territory was aroused; and selecting Brennus for their leader, they poured their vast hordes into the plains, and swept everything before them. The Romans, despising the barbarians, requested them to withdraw, were defeated within eleven miles of their city, and soon beheld with terror the enemy before the gates of their capital. The tribes burst into the city, which they found desolate and solitary, and repaired to the senate-house, where the priests and aged patricians had retired. Superstitious awe pervaded each party, until one of the Germans stroked the beard of an aged priest, and was struck in return by his ivory sceptre. This was the signal for the massacre of the senators. The capitol was saved by Manlius, who was at the point of purchasing peace, when Camillus advanced with a Roman army, defeated the barbarians, and almost annihilated them. Some of these tribes settled in the north of Italy, where they struggled for a long time with the Romans, until, after uniting with Hannibal, and participating in his successes, they were obliged to retire into the mountainous districts of the Alps, where they were exterminated by the Romans, B.C. 191. In the third century B.C., a part of the Senones and the Boii united with other tribes and migrated eastward, where some perished in attempting to carry off the treasures of the temple at Delphi; while others crossed the Hellespont, spread themselves over the plains of Asia Minor, and founded the Galatian empire. The greater part of these were Boii; and when the crusaders passed through Galatia, they were surprised at recognising traces of the Bavarian manners and accent among the people.

As time rolled on, fresh hordes arrived from the north, and

inundated the southern districts. Tribe constantly waged war with tribe; and the custom of sending forth the young when any district became too scanty to supply their wants, occasioned the frequent appearance of large bodies of warriors and settlers, migrating to some spot which would repay their conquest and furnish them with supplies. In the second century B.C., the Cimbri and the Teutones appeared in the south of the Danube, and, swelling their ranks as they advanced by additions from other tribes, they passed the Alps, and roved over the south of Gaul and Spain, defeating the Roman armies which were sent out to oppose them. They at length separated; the Cimbri, passing through the Tyrol, marched into the plains of Italy, while the Teutones were opposed by Marius, the Roman consul. A bloody and decisive battle, which lasted two days, was fought near Aix, in which the Romans were victorious. The slaughter of the Teutones was terrific; their king was taken captive; and their women, when they saw all was lost, heroically killed their children and themselves, rather than fall into the hands of the victors. The Cimbri, ignorant of the fate of their companions, marched through the Alpine passes, frightened the Roman army, under Catulus, sent to oppose them, and spread themselves over the rich and fertile plains about Verona, where they awaited the arrival of the Teutones, before they ventured to appear at the imperial city. Instead of their brethren, they were surprised by the arrival of Marius with his victorious troops. The two armies encountered each other on the 30th of July, B.C. 101. A thick fog concealed the movements of the enemy, and the Romans were for some time in a most perilous situation, when suddenly the sun burst forth and dispersed the mist; the invincible legions threw the barbarian ranks into confusion; Bojorix, with 90,000 of his followers, fell on the battle-field, while 60,000 remained as captives of war, and were scattered over the country as slaves. These slaves afterwards nearly overthrew the Roman constitution, when, rising under Spartacus, they carried on for three years a most determined and desolating warfare.

In the Gallic war, Caesar frequently came into contact with the German tribes, which had at first been invited to the assistance of the Gauls, and afterwards settled in vast numbers in their country. The arms of Rome were very speedily turned against the barbarians themselves, and before the Christian era dawned upon the world, the tribes to the south of the Danube were subdued, and the districts incorporated into the Roman Empire. Some, more heroic than others, especially those occupying the Alpine mountains, preferred death to the sway of the conquerors, while not a few tribes were attracted by the splendour, or subdued by the terror, of the Roman name. A vast change gradually crept over these provinces. German princes resorted to Rome, and became initiated into the luxury and effeminaey which reigned there, while their warriors were induced, by presents and promises, to enroll themselves in the imperial army. From this time, German mercenaries became an important portion of the troops, and contributed, by their courage and daring, to procure

those splendid victories which distinguished the arms of the mistress of the world. Roman colonies were also planted in these tributary provinces, and civilisation and order introduced. Cities sprang up amid the desolate plains; roads facilitated the transport of commerce; fortresses reared their frowning heights in important passes, and bid defiance to the wild attacks of the half-savage tribes which still migrated from the north. It was not, however, without severe struggles that their liberty was torn from them. Frequently, when the oppression of Rome was severe, they rose *en masse*, and gave vent to their infuriated feelings by exterminating the foreigners. Varus, the Roman governor, with a picked army of 30,000 men, was unsuspectingly led into wild forests and mountain passes, and thrown into consternation by the rapid descent of Armin, chief of the Cherusei, who swept over the army with such overwhelming power, that few escaped to convey the mournful tidings.

Six years after this, A.D. 14, Germanicus was sent out with a powerful force to avenge the death of Varus, subdue Germany, and annex it to Rome. He sailed up the Ems, and assisted by two auxiliary armies, marched to the scene of the defeat of Varus. Scarcely had he buried the bones of the Roman legions, and entered into a narrow valley, than Armin, with his troops, rushed upon him, threw his army into utter confusion, and forced him to retire to his ships with great slaughter. Again he attempted the conquest, and gained a few slight victories, but the Germans, aroused by their defeats, once more collected their forces, and gave battle to the Roman army. The conflict was of a most deadly nature; night alone separated the combatants; the forces of each were so shattered that neither could renew the fight in the morning, and Germanicus was obliged to return to Rome without accomplishing his object.

In the south, a successful attempt was made to unite several tribes under one leader. Marbod united the Suevi, the Boii, and other tribes, and conducted them to the fertile regions of Bohemia, where they were joined by the Getae, and were known by the name of the Marcomanni. He ruled over them with despotic sway; but when he attempted to extend his dominions, other tribes united against him under Armin, and forced him to retreat to his territory, where his despotism so enraged his subjects that they chose a Goth for their king, and obliged Marbod to flee to Rome. The fame of Armin had spread through the land. He had saved his country in the time of war, but now that peace was diffusing her blessings, his enemies aroused among his people the suspicion that he was treading in the steps of Marbod, and aiming at the sovereignty. Soon after he was cruelly murdered.

Discord quickly sprang up among the various German tribes, which warred against each other with such fierceness, that several were exterminated. The Romans beheld these feuds with complacency. Tacitus records their deeds with pleasure, but cannot restrain the patriotic exclamation, "May dissension ever reign among the Germans, and thus prevent the danger with which they threaten Rome." The Marcomanni, in particular, were disunited; part

elected a new king; and part united themselves to the Quadi, who occupied Moravia, and settled in the district of Pannonia, which was then unoccupied. During the contest at Rome for the Imperial dignity, Germany was left to itself; but under the warlike Trajan, and his successor, Hadrian, the frontiers were formed into provinces, defended by fortresses, adorned with cities, and civilised by the commerce and intercourse of foreigners. The principal provinces formed were four—Rhætia, extending from the sources of the Rhine and Danube to Salzburg, of which Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) was the capital; Noricum, to the east of Rhætia, where Salzburg and Lintz were situated; Pannonia, extending towards Hungary, of which the chief town was Vindobona (Vienna); and Mœsia, which stretched to the mouths of the Danube.

The mighty empire of Rome soon began to give indications of decay. Her citizens, enervated by luxury, no longer marched into the field with resolute valour; and their place was supplied by mercenaries and allies, who did not possess the patriotism which had rendered the legions invincible. The petty tribes of Germany gradually disappeared; and henceforth we meet with the Alemanni, Goths, Franks, and Saxons. The devastations of war were rapidly remedied by peace; and soon the population increased in such numbers, that fresh inundations rolled, like some mountain wave, from the north and interior of Germany, towards the Roman provinces. The Marcomanni, the Quadi, Goths, and Vandals, appeared on the shores of the Adriatic, and laid siege to Aquilcia; but the arrival of Marcus Aurelius, the emperor, with a large army, caused them to retreat beyond the Danube, whither they were followed by the emperor, and forced to sue for peace. The Alemanni, a powerful body, composed, as their name indicates, of "all men," spread desolation over the Roman provinces, and engaged the imperial armies for more than a century. They fought chiefly on horseback; and were accompanied by a body of infantry, so swift that they could follow the charges of their cavalry, and retire with them in retreat. They roved over the Alpine regions; carried on their ravages in Gaul, as well as in the Italian cities, and, after suffering many defeats, settled down in Helvetia. They were defeated by Clovis, king of the Franks, were banished from the parts of Gaul they had invaded, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian kings.

We now come into contact with a race of men who were more susceptible of the influence of civilisation than those already noticed, and who gave a severe shock to the Roman empire. When the Goths resided in the rear of the Marcomanni, they cast their longing eyes on the salubrious plains of Italy, and even proposed an attack on Rome; but a violent storm, bursting over their assembly, killed three of their chiefs, and prevented the accomplishment of their scheme. In the third century, they invaded Mœsia with a powerful host, defeated the Emperor Decius, who endeavoured to oppose them, and ravaged the country round. Three times these hordes crossed the Black Sea, destroyed the cities of Asia Minor,



burnt to the ground the famous Nicæa and Nicomedia, and returned laden with the rich spoils of their plundering excursions. In A.D. 267, they visited Greece, and left the desolating marks of their visit in the magnificent cities which were overthrown. The splendour of Athens stayed not their rude assaults; the wonders of its art, and the beauty of its architecture, arrested not their progress; and the superb collection of books would have disappeared in a vast conflagration, had not an aged man appealed to them with the plea, "that, as long as they used their pens with so much diligence, they would never understand the use of their swords." They were, however, checked in their ravages by the Emperor Aurelian, and were subsequently taken into the service of the empire, when the new capital reared its towers on the banks of the Bosphorus. Their contact with Rome was of great utility to them in affecting their religious belief. Several of the captives they had taken were Christians, who spread their religion wherever they went; while those Goths who were received as mercenaries, adopted the Christian religion, which Constantine had embraced as the religion of the Roman empire. The most formidable of their chieftains was Alarie, a descendant of the noble race of Balti, who had been brought up in the military school of Theodosius, where he acquired that knowledge of arms and tactics which enabled him to withstand and overcome the Roman legions. The empire of Theodosius had been divided; Arcadius fixing his seat at Constantinople, Honorius at Ravenna. A bitter jealousy sprung up between the rival empires, and Alarie took advantage of it to promote his own interests. Honorius sent his general, Stilicho, to oppose him, by whom, however, he was permitted to retire into Illyria; and soon after an edict was published at Constantinople which conferred upon him the dignity of master-general of that province. He employed his new power in providing arms and shields for his troops, who testified their gratitude, according to their custom, by raising him upon a shield, and proclaiming him king of the Goths. He resolved to invade the western empire; collected his allies, the Alemanni; shook the walls of Aquileia, and appeared before the royal palace at Milan. Fear seized the heart of Honorius and his courtiers, and the plan of flight was even arranged; when Stilicho begged them to delay it for a short time, and he would free them from their enemies. All the auxiliary troops were gathered, and the garrisons from the frontiers withdrawn; but before he could oppose the progress of Alarie, the weak emperor had fled, and been nearly captured by the Goths. Alarie, however, was forced to retreat to the Alps, after suffering many defeats. By a treaty with Honorius, he was subsequently made master-general of the Roman army in Illyricum; but, after the death of Stilicho, he again invaded Italy for the purpose of seizing Rome, the possession of which, he thought, would secure to him the whole of Italy. The city was besieged by his troops; fear soon succeeded to the indignation the citizens felt when first they saw the Goths; famine and plague ravaged the streets, and decimated the people; and, at length, a

large ransom purchased the safety of the city. Alaric marched to Ravenna, where the emperor and his court were, but, failing to reduce it, he returned to Rome, and wreaked his vengeance by procuring the entire surrender of the city. He placed on the throne Attalus, the prefect of the city; but, exasperated by his wretched administration, he degraded him from his rank, and sent the ensigns of royalty to the emperor. The indignities of the court of Ravenna brought Alaric before the gates of Rome for the third time. At midnight, the Salarian gate was silently opened, and the city given up to the fury of the barbarian hosts. The streets were soon filled with dead, and the houses plundered of everything valuable; while the flames, which rose from the burning piles, cast their lurid glare on the scene of carnage, and revealed the terrible massacre and pillage which had taken place. The conqueror rapidly passed to the south of Italy, and his design of invading Sicily was frustrated only by his death, which took place, after a short illness, A.D. 410.

The Franks had gradually been extending their dominions and increasing their power. Composed of the different tribes which dwelt near the Lower Rhine and the Weser, they were united by their love of freedom, and by mutual advantage, and displayed their bravery in many successful exploits. They had swept over vast tracts of Gaul, plundered the most flourishing parts of Spain, and created great astonishment by their appearance in Africa. Though often defeated, and treacherously dealt with, by Roman generals, they rendered great assistance to the Emperor Constantine in vanquishing his opponent, Licinius, and by their subsequent alliances. They were kept in check by the presence of the Roman legions in the provinces; but when these were withdrawn by Stilicho, for the defence of the western empire, they rapidly pressed forward in their conquests. A portion of them, named the Salii, rose to great power, and emulated the Goths by selecting a chief who should rival the splendour and fame of Alaric. They drew up the charter of their rights and liberties, which formed the basis of the great Salic law, and raised Faramund to the throne, after he had sworn to govern them according to its provisions. He was succeeded by Chlodis, from whose successor, Merowig, sprang the Merovingian kings, a race remarkable for their long flaxen hair, which hung in flowing ringlets over their shoulders; their lofty stature, beautiful blue eyes, strength, and courage.

The whole of the provinces were now swept by that "scourge of God," Attila, the chief of the Huns. These fierce savages passed from the immense steppes of Asia, westward, in search of pasturage. Their appearance was of a most frightful description; short in stature, and sallow in countenance, their pigmy features were set off by long black hair which streamed behind them as they swiftly whirled along on horseback, and sent terror into the heart of their opponents, who regarded them more as a race of demons than a race of men. Their progress was like that of an army of locusts; scarcely anything could resist their terrible fierceness. They at length fixed their kingdom in Hungary; and, when Attila ascended the throne in his

wooden palace, it embraced not only the Huns, but also the Ostro-German tribes. The eastern empire first suffered from his ravages; Constantinople was saved by a large ransom, but Greece was laid waste by his merciless hordes. He then turned to the west, swept over the different districts of Germany, and united them under his sway. "He alone," says Gibbon, "among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Seythia. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces; he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chastised, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of the Rhine. The renowned Ardaric, King of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and sagacious counsellor of the monarch, who esteemed his intrepid genius, whilst he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Walamir, King of the Ostrogoths." His progress was for a time arrested by the combined efforts of the Romans, Franks, and Visigoths, whose union was broken up by jealousy as soon as the common foe had retired. Being invited to Rome by Honoria, the sister of the emperor, whom he had demanded in marriage, he invaded Italy, and appeared in sight of the city, whence he was induced to retire by the presence of the Roman pontiff, Leo, who went forth in sacerdotal state to meet the rude foe. He soon after met with his death, either by bursting a blood vessel, or by the hand of a beautiful maid, Ildico, whom he had added to his numerous wives, and was buried with great pomp and curious ceremonies by his valiant warriors, A.D. 453.

He was no sooner dead than his vast kingdom was torn into factions; Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, seized the seat of government; Pannonia was occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the Huns were forced to retire beyond the Black Sea.

The last shadows of Roman power and glory were now fast receding. The empire had been so severely shaken by external foes and internal commotions, that she tottered on the verge of ruin. Her fields had been swept by the Goths, and scarcely had fertility and prosperity reappeared, ere her plains and cities were plundered by the fierce Huns. Carthage, her finest African province, had fallen to the Vandals, under Genserik; the seas were ploughed by his ships, and Rome for fourteen days beheld her remaining treasure carried off by these barbarians. A succession of weak emperors occupied the throne; an army of confederates, composed of German youth, kept them in awe; and, by the influence of Orestes, a powerful Pannonian, who had been secretary to Attila, Augustulus, the last emperor of the west, was adorned with the purple; but, after an inglorious reign of nine years, he signed his abdication; and Odoacer, who had raised himself from a wandering life in Noricum to the dignity of general of the army of confederates, was proclaimed the king of Italy, A.D. 476. Thus was the mistress of the world humbled before the power, which, eight centuries before, she had despised. When the proud legions first encountered the savage tribes of Germany, they little thought that the spark of freedom,

which they attempted to extinguish, would blaze even in their city, or that the patriotism which then nerved their arm would vanish through the intoxication of conquest and glory. They trusted too much in their own prowess, and underrated the power of their foes; they placed themselves in opposition to the law of progress which silently was working its way; and, after vainly endeavouring to retain their position, long after their strength was gone, they fell before the youthful energy of a power, which was just emerging out of the ranks of barbarism into those of order and civilisation.

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## CHAPTER II.

AUSTRIA UNDER THE GOTHS AND FRANKS. A.D. 476-814.

THE title of emperor of the west was abolished by Odoacer, who sent an ambassage to Constantinople, and delivered up to the Emperor Zeno the imperial ensigns, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace. His prudence, his valour, and the success of his arms, however, did little to remedy the distress of the Roman people, among whom famine and pestilence had made such havoc, that flourishing districts were depopulated, and stirring cities almost reduced to silence. After a reign of fourteen years, he was forced to yield to the superior power of Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, by whom he was thrice defeated in the open field, and at length obliged to surrender himself with the city of Ravenna, where he had sustained a siege for three years. He was invited to a splendid banquet, and was stabbed by the hand, or at least by the order of Theodoric, who was proclaimed by his victorious army the King of Italy A.D. 493. This great prince united the bravery of the hero with the wisdom of the statesman, and by his efforts restored tranquillity to the Roman kingdom. He assigned lands to his brave troops, who were distinguished from the Romans by religion, customs, and employments. While he allowed his Gothic subjects a measure of their ancient liberty, he wisely blended the authority of the Roman constitution with his own, and sought to conceal the sterner qualities of the barbarian in the more polished refinements of the Roman. His court at Ravenna was adorned with the eloquence of Cassiodorus, his minister and historian, and the virtue of the philosophic Boetius. Although brought up in the Arian faith, to which most of the Goths adhered, he tolerated the Catholics, and assisted in settling their disputes respecting the occupaney of the chair of St. Peter; though when they abused their liberty, by venting their rage on the defenceless Jews, he inflicted severe punishment upon them. Towards the close of his reign he experienced the stings of ingratitude, and the disastrous effects of

suspicion and jealousy. He murdered the eloquent Boetius, whose learning and talents had been consecrated to the welfare of his citizens; and the next year caused the blood of the aged senator, Symmachus, to be shed, who was grieving over the loss of his son-in-law. His own last days were full of trouble; and it is related that one evening, when the head of a large fish was served on the table, he declared he beheld in it the angry countenance of Symmachus. He left the festive scene and retired to his chamber, where, after suffering the most intense anguish, he expired. His reign was remarkable for the attempt to unite the various states of Germany in one common union. The fame of his prowess accomplished much, and the marriage of his daughters to German kings was sanctioned to cement the union; but his efforts were rendered unavailing by the jealousy of Clovis, the king of the Franks; and the German tribes were again a prey to discord.

Childeric, the son of Merowig, and the father of Clovis, had been driven from his throne by his subjects, and had sought refuge with the King of the Thuringians, where he carried on intrigues with the wife of his host. When he was restored to his crown, she preferred the beauty of her lover to the sterner virtues of her husband, fled to his arms, and became his wife. Clovis was the issue of this marriage, who ascended the throne at the age of fifteen, when he indulged his ambition and bravery by securing the conquest of Gaul. He attacked Siagrius, who still maintained an independent Roman government there, and obtained a decisive victory over him. The Alemanni viewed with jealousy and alarm the progress of Clovis, and the introduction of the feudal system among the provinces, and united to attack the Franks. A fierce battle ensued, the ranks of Clovis were broken, and the Alemanni rushed impetuously upon their foes with shouts of victory. The bravery, and it is added, the piety, of Clovis restored order and secured victory to his troops. He appealed at the moment of danger to the God of the Christians, and vowed to serve Him if he were victorious. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, prepared him for the sacred rite of baptism, and the ceremony was performed with all the pomp and splendour which could be secured. Three thousand of his subjects shared in the rite on that solemn occasion; the enthusiasm spread rapidly through his dominions; the people rushed down in vast numbers to the baptismal font, while the eloquence of the bishop so excited the mind of Clovis, that when he heard the story of the crucifixion of Christ, he exclaimed with vehemence, "Had I been present at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged His injuries." His wife, Clotilda, had long professed the Christian religion. She was a niece of Gundebald, king of Burgundy, and in her maidenhood had retired to a nunnery. The fame of her beauty reached the ears of Clovis, who despatched a trusty servant to make known to her his affection. Aurelian approached the nunnery disguised as a beggar, and when the royal maid came to wash his feet, he dropped the king's ring into the water, and declared his message. She joyfully accepted the proposal, and soon after set out to the king; and as she passed along,

revenged the murder of her father, by burning the dwellings of the Burgundians. She stirred up Clovis against them, but they occupied so strong a position, that he was contented with receiving the oath of their allegiance. He turned his arms against the Visigoths, but was unable to subdue them, and proceeded into Brittany, which he subdued. The name of Gaul now disappears from history, and that of France appears. Rich lands were given to his faithful followers, his Antrustiones, who formed an order of nobles, by whom the feudal system was brought into extensive operation. The spoils of the field were collected after battle, and equally divided among the soldiers, on which occasions the strictest justice was exercised. Prudent in peace, valorous in war, inexorable in justice, and affable in spirit, Clovis, after a reign of thirty years, was cut off in the prime of his life, and in the midst of his victories, A.D. 511.

Five-and-twenty years later, the monarchy of France was recognised by the Emperor Justinian; the royal diadem adorned the head, and the purple robes the person of the monarch; and the Merovingian kings swayed the most powerful sceptre in the west of Europe. Instead, however, of forming one firm monarchy, Clovis divided France into four kingdoms; the largest, named Austrasia,\* of which Mentz was the capital, was bestowed on Theodoric, his eldest son; Neustria, with Orleans as its capital, was given to Chlodomir, while Childebert reigned as king of Paris, and Chlotar at Soissons. There was still a tie which rendered them dependent upon each other, though Austrasia and Neustria were afterwards distinguished by their manners, the former adhering to the ancient German customs, while the latter adopted those of Rome.

Theodoric embraced every opportunity of extending his sway. The Thuringians had been divided into three provinces, ruled by the three sons of Bisinus, one of whom, Hermanfried, seized the possessions of his brother, and, to strengthen himself against the other, sought the alliance of Theodoric. Refusing, however, to share the gain with him, he was defeated in a battle with the king of Austrasia, and shortly after met with his death. Theodoric invited him to Zülpich, where, whilst engaged in conversation with him on the castle walls on which they were walking, he suddenly pushed him, as if by accident, down the precipice. Thuringia then became tributary to the Austrasian monarch. Theodoric was succeeded by his son Theodebert, a powerful and warlike prince, who extended the renown of his arms through Italy, and even to Constantinople.

The Goths and the Romans were at deadly feud, the Arian and the Catholic clergy viewed each other with bitter hatred; and Justinian sent his renowned general, Belisarius, in answer to the supplication of the Romans, to establish his imperial sway in the west. Vitigis, who had been placed on the throne by the Goths, beheld with alarm the progress of Belisarius, sought alliance with the Alemanni and the Burgundians, and attacked Rome, where the

\* Austria (*Österreich*) means Eastern Kingdom, and was applied to the east of the Merovingian Kingdom.

general had been received with joy, but was forced to retire before the superior skill of Belisarius. Theodebert had been simultaneously solicited by the Greeks and Romans to render them assistance, but declined; when, however, the Goths resolved to chastise Milan for revolting to the Romans, 10,000 Burgundians united with them. The city was taken after an obstinate siege, 300,000 of its inhabitants slain, the walls levelled to the ground, and the women and spoils given to the Burgundians. Encouraged by this success, Theodebert marched with 100,000 warriors into the plains of Italy. Seated on horseback, and surrounded by a few chosen followers, he conducted this vast body of infantry, armed with a shield, a sword, and a double-edged battle-axe, across the Po, and attacked at the same time the camps of the Goths and the Romans. Fear induced both to flee and leave the fertile plains and defenceless cities to the barbarians. Pestilence soon broke out among the troops, famine prostrated many, and the rest were clamorous for their homes. Their ravages did not excite among the Romans such horror as when they offered a sacrifice of women and children to the river god, and threw the bodies into the Po. Theodebert retired to his kingdom, and, while hunting in the German forests, was overthrown and slain by a wild bull. He was succeeded by Theobald, a weak and inactive prince.

The history of the Merovingian kings is distinguished by their intestine feuds, and their notorious crimes. Brother conspired against brother, and for fear of treachery, murdered their relations; while they allowed avarice to rule their actions, and to snatch each other's possessions. Sigebert, son of Chlotar, succeeded to the kingdom of Austrasia, and Chilperic reigned at Soissons. The latter attempted to surprise the former; but was resisted by the faithful Austrasian subjects. Sigebert became king of Paris; but, soon after his accession, was murdered by assassins in the pay of Chilperic, who seized his queen, and drove out the Austrasians. Her son Childebert was saved by a trusty servant, who concealed him in a game-bag, and fled with him to Austrasia; where he was proclaimed king by the nobles. The queen, Brunehilda, was rescued from prison and death by Morowic, the son of Chilperic, who married her, and fled to Austrasia. The great vassals of the crown refused to receive him, and he was obliged to return to Neustria, where he was slain. The queen was at length enabled to form a party among the vassals, by which she was placed at the head of affairs.

The Longobards, a Danish tribe, had migrated from the north, and settled in the northern part of Italy, where they afterwards founded the kingdom of Lombardy. Many and fierce were the struggles in which they engaged before they were permitted to occupy the fair plains; and, with others, Brunehilda marched against them, and gained great success. This proud woman had enemies on all sides. Fredegunda, once the mistress and then the queen of Chilperic, a cruel and bloody woman, envied her successes, and attempted to assassinate her; and when Childebert died, stirred up

the Avars against his son, Theodebert, who had succeeded to the throne. This wild race, the Avars, had rapidly advanced from the steppes of Tartary, through Hungary, along the banks of the Danube; where they encamped in close proximity to the kingdom of Austrasia. They were constantly at war with their neighbours, who gained many victories over them; but it was not until Charlemagne made Croatia the boundery of his empire, and planted colonies in modern Austria, that they were confined to Hungary as their abode; and even then they proved themselves, as we shall see, most troublesome neighbours. Brunhilda now sowed the seed of discord between her grandsons. She declared the illegitimacy of Theodebert, persuaded his brother to dethrone and murder him, and afterwards administered poison to the fratricide. The crimes she had committed were soon to be avenged on her own head. The nobles were discontented at the administration, and appealed to Chlotar II.; who convened a general assembly of the nobles. Brunhilda appeared with a numerous army; but when she encountered Chlotar, the soldiers deserted her. She was seized, and cruelly tortured for three days; then placed on a camel's back, and paraded through the camp; and at last tied by the hair of her head to the tail of a wild horse. Thus perished, A.D. 613, the last of the *legitimate* line of the Merovingians; a race distinguished by bravery, courage, and wisdom, but stained by crimes of the deepest dye.

Chlotar II., the only son of Fredegunda, who had succeeded his father, now ascended the throne of Austrasia, and healed the divisions of the nobles. During the late disturbances, the office of mayor of the palace had been established, which was a post of great power and importance, and one eagerly coveted by the nobles. Gradually the mayors encroached on the authority of the king, whom they surrounded with pomp and luxury, that his attention might be diverted from the affairs of the state; and as the remaining sovereigns belonging to the Merovingian race, were generally weak and effeminate, no small degree of ability was requisite to enable the mayor to conserve the honour and glory of the kingdom. Chlotar II., in 622, made his son, Dagobert, king of Austrasia, and Pepin von Landen his mayor. After his death, Dagobert became king of the whole empire, and gave himself up to luxury and voluptuousness; and Pepin wisely guided the affairs of Austrasia. When Dagobert died, the empire was divided among his three sons; and Sigebert III. succeeded to the throne of Austrasia. Pepin placed his son Grimoald in the mayoralty, and, though he was dismissed by the king, the authority of the nobles was sufficiently powerful to recall him to his office. The union of the kingdoms under one king, and the subsequent division of them among his sons, were the cause of great disasters. Theodorie III. inherited the kingdoms; but the Austrasians placed Dagobert II., who had been confined in an Irish monastery by Grimoald, on the throne. He was soon put to death, by the mayor of Neustria; and Pepin von Heristal, the descendent of Pepin I., marched at the head of the Austrasians against Berchar, mayor of Neustria, who was



supporting the claims of Theodorie, whom Pepin was opposing. A great battle ensued; Pepin was victorious, compelled Theodorie to acknowledge him mayor of the empire, and allowed him to retain the pomp and splendour of a king, while he really exercised the regal power. Under his mayoralty, peace and prosperity flourished, the people were united, the clergy were propitious, and the neighbouring tribes made to feel the power of the union. He died in 714, and that same year witnessed the murder of his son, by some jealous nobles. Again the kingdom became a scene of contest. The Neustrians resolved to throw off the control which Pepin had exercised; and electing Reganfried as their mayor, boldly attacked the Austrasians. The widow of Pepin had kept Charles, her natural son, in prison, that her grandson Theudoald might be mayor. He was defeated in battle with the Neustrians, and shortly after died; and the Austrasians directed their eyes to Charles. He came forth from prison, collected his troops, fired them with enthusiasm, and gained a splendid victory over his enemies at Cambray, by means of a simple stratagem. A single warrior rushed from his ranks through the enemy's camp, calling them to arms; and while they were wondering at his boldness, and pursuing him, Charles attacked their rear, and routed them. Though victorious, he did not assume the regal dignity; but placed Theodorie IV. on the throne, while he really swayed the sceptre. A vast horde of Moors poured across the Pyrenees; which was welcomed by Eudo, duke of Aquitaine, who had long wished to be independent. He was obliged to flee to the standard of Charles for protection against these invaders; who rushed on to victory or to death with the impetuosity of a torrent. With the Koran in one hand, and the sword in the other, they presented but one alternative; and thus aimed at the extinction of nations, or the supremacy of Islamism. A great union was formed among the neighbouring nations; and the confederate army gave battle to the Moors between Tours and Poitiers. Charles, at the head of the Austrasians, rushed into the midst of the contest, striking his foes on the head with such fury, that he was afterwards surnamed Martell, or hammer, in honour of his prowess. The prince of the Moors was slain, and 375,000 of his followers were stretched upon the field of battle. After displaying great courage in the field, and profound wisdom in his administration, Charles Martell died at Creey, A.D. 741.

On the death of Charles, the kingdom was divided between his two sons; Carloman occupying the mayoralty of Austrasia, and Pepin, surnamed the "Little," that of Neustria. Carloman fled into a monastery, filled with remorse for having executed some prisoners; and Pepin exercised the sole authority, and gained great successes over the Bavarians, Alemanni, and Saxons. For a long period the Merovingian kings had been but a cipher in the kingdom. The real executive power was in the hands of the mayor; and to the ability displayed by them, the kingdom was indebted for much of its prosperity. Pepin saw that the time had arrived for placing his race firmly upon the throne, and sweeping the degenerate house of Merowig

from power. He sought the assistance of Pope Zacharias, and despatched an embassy to Rome to propound the question, "Whether he was king, who sat carelessly at home, or he who bore the burden of government?" The Pope replied that the latter alone merited the crown. Pepin convened the general assembly at Soissons, which confirmed the Pope's answer; Childeric III., the last of the Merovingian kings, was shorn of his long hair, and consigned to the cloister, and Pepin was unanimously proclaimed king. He rendered great service to the See of Rome, by attacking the Lombards; defeated the Duke of Aquitaine, and united his duchy to the crown, and favoured the clergy. He died of the dropsy, at St. Denis, A.D. 768, after a reign of seventeen years.

Pepin left two sons, by whom his kingdom was divided; Charlemagne occupying Austrasia, and Carloman Neustria. The latter was accidentally killed, and Charlemagne was proclaimed sole king. He was born at the Castle of Salzburg, in Bavaria, and while a mere youth was noted for his strength of body and of mind, which he had ample opportunities of displaying when accompanying his father in his wars. He early married the daughter of Desiderius, the King of Lombardy, but soon after divorced her. Ambition swayed his actions, and led him to conceive the bold plan, which was successfully carried out in his lifetime, of forming one vast empire beneath his rule; where civilisation and Christianity should display their triumphs, and reflect their lustre on the nations around. To effect this object, his troops were constantly engaged in war for thirty years, until he had subdued the various tribes which opposed him. In 772, the assembly, convened at Worms, decreed a war with Saxony, which, with few interruptions, continued till 803. At first he employed his successes with mildness, and thus endeavoured to gain the Saxons to his rule; but no sooner was he called to other parts and other wars, than they rose against his generals; and on one occasion, when his troops were passing through mountain fastnesses, the foe rushed upon them and nearly destroyed the entire army. Witikind, the chief of the Saxons, was the principal opponent, who, by his bravery and cunning, caused great losses to the king. Charlemagne, roused by their opposition, vowed destruction to the whole people. Slaughter everywhere marked his footsteps; until at length, weary with bloodshed, he offered to the sorrowing survivors the alternative of the profession of Christianity or death. Witikind was publicly baptised in France, because, as the legend goes, when he went disguised as a beggar into a church at Wolmirstadt, a shining white child appeared to him, and convinced him of the truth of Christianity. To increase his power, and establish his authority here, Charlemagne created additional emoluments for the Saxon nobles, and bound them to him by his rich favours. After his coronation at Rome he revisited Saxony, and settled its affairs by a definite treaty.

In 774, he appeared in Lombardy against Desiderius, the king, who had endeavoured to force the Pope to anoint the two sons of Carloman. His fame and martial appearance brought many to his

standard. Desiderius shut himself up in Pavia, where he was forced by famine to capitulate, after a siege of seven months. The king was deeply moved at the magnificent appearance of Charlemagne, as he rode near the walls, armed cap à pie, on his charger, and exclaimed to those around him, with a feeling of awe, "Let us descend and hide ourselves beneath the earth, from the angry glance of such a powerful enemy." He was banished to a convent, and Charlemagne placed the crown on his own head. In 778, he marched against the Moors in Spain, where the renown of his arms was sustained by his successes; but on his return, he was attacked by the Basques in the passes of the Pyrenées, where his brave general, Roland, the theme of so many poets and romancers, was slain. Ten years after he invaded Bavaria, whose duke, Thassilo, had refused to perform feudal service. The duke was forced to take the oath of allegiance; but being afterwards found plotting with the Avars to surprise Charlemagne, he was condemned to death, which was afterwards commuted to banishment to a convent. His son shared his fate; and Bavaria henceforth remained an integral part of the empire.

Charlemagne had thus realised the dreams of conquest and glory, which his early ambition had inspired. In the year A.D. 800, he appeared before the Pontiff, Leo III., at Rome, attended the festival of the nativity in St. Peter's Church, and received the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope, amid the acclamations of the multitude, who shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" This great ruler thus united under one vast monarchy the various German tribes, and swayed, at the same time, a sceptre in the kingdoms of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary. His rule was facilitated by the perfection to which he brought the feudal system; and by the temporal power which he granted to his nobles, and to the dignitaries of the church, whose diets were convened by his will, and presided over by his person. He united in himself the stern warrior with the wise legislator; the patron of literature and art, and the promoter of agriculture and commerce. His laws have been the theme of admiration and panegyric for ages. "They compose not a system, but a series of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs." He cultivated the German language—fostered its literature—collected its songs—caused translations from the Latin to be made—and ordered the clergy to preach in their native tongue, that the people might be instructed. Schools sprang up under his patronage; the learned from all parts adorned his court; the chivalrous crowded to his standard; the people bowed before the reverence and awe which his renown inspired. He was lofty in stature, noble and dignified in his manner; sometimes mild and easy of access; at other times harsh and severe; crushing his foes by his irresistible might. Even his wives and concubines were not secure against his rash violence, whom he repudiated when the charms of beauty attracted his attention elsewhere. After a prosperous reign of

forty-seven years, Charlemagne died at Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 814, where he was buried with great pomp and splendour. "The dignity of his person," says Gibbon, "the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from the restoration of the western power."

## PART II.

### THE MIDDLE AGES.

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#### CHAPTER I.

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY. A.D. 814-911.

AFTER the death of Charlemagne, the throne was occupied by his only surviving son, Louis, a weak and impotent prince. The sceptre which had been swayed with such vigour by his father, now became the cause of great distress and bloodshed. The grandson of Charlemagne, Bernard, conspired against his uncle, who caused him to be seized, and his eyes torn from their sockets, in consequence of which he died in a few days. The king felt the pangs of remorse for his cruelty, and would have retired to a monastery to end his days in seclusion, had he not been prevented by his courtiers and bishops, who made use of his weakness to increase their power. During his lifetime, he divided the empire between his sons; Lothar was to share in the administration, and to be king of Italy; Pepin to reign over France; and Louis to possess Germany. These sons soon commenced war with their father; the people sighed for the wise and masterly hand of Charlemagne to uphold the glory he had purchased with his victories, and forsook the emperor, who was sent a prisoner to Soissons, deposed from his throne, obliged to do penance in sackcloth, and then confined in a monastery. The jealousy of the sons restored their father, who made a fresh division of his kingdom, granting to Charles, his son by Judith, a beautiful Bavarian woman whom he had married, the kingdom of Neustria, to which was added the portion of Pepin, who died shortly after. The emperor, worn out with the intrigues of his son, died on an island in the Rhine, "shouting with his latest breath, like the huntsmen, 'Hutz, hutz,' in order to scare the devil from his bedside." During his reign the power of the papal hierarchy increased; the pontiffs no longer waited for the confirmation of the emperor that their election might be valid; the bishops procured the erection of monasteries, and grants of land, and gradually secured to the church that power which she afterwards wielded with such dread results. Under the rule of Louis the Pious, the great dukes and margraves also consolidated their power; and, although they took the oath of obedience to their emperor, in not a few cases, they maintained an independency

commensurate with their importance and resources. These margraves were employed by Louis the German to protect the frontiers of his kingdom from the attacks of the rude tribes which still hovered near.

At his death, A.D., 876, Louis, the German, divided his dominions among his sons; Carloman inherited Bavaria and Carinthia; Louis, the younger, Saxony and Thuringia; and Charles le Gros, Swabia. At this time, Bohemia was under the rule of Borzivoi, and Moravia under Suatopluk. They were frequently brought into deadly contact with Carloman, and afterwards with Arnulf, and increased their dominions by fresh conquests. The scattered dominions of Charlemagne were again collected into an empire by Charles le Gros, who endeavoured by bribes and treaties to effect what could only be accomplished by the wise and warlike spirit of his ancestor. He excited the anger of the nobles, who convened a diet, and deprived him of his throne, the loss of which he survived but one year.

A severe contest ensued among the dukes as to the successor. Two of them, Guido of Spoleto, and Berengar of Friarl, made themselves independent, and the Germans placed Arnulf, the brave duke of Bavaria, on the throne. He defended his frontiers from the attacks of the Normans, who had ravaged parts of France, and had obtained large sums of money from Charles. In one of the battles, he perceived that the German cavalry could not cope with the Norman infantry, and springing from the saddle, he rushed into the contest. His followers imitated his example, grappled with their assailants, drove the Normans into streams, and gained a splendid victory. To maintain his authority, he gave Bohemia to Suatopluk, to hold in fee, that those districts might be defended from the sudden attacks of the Hungarians. The Moravian prince soon after broke his treaty with the emperor, but when a band of Magyars headed by their chief, Arpad, menaced his territory, he willingly sued for peace. Arnulf's ambition was to have the imperial crown placed on his head by the pope. For this purpose he set out in 894, but had advanced no farther than Lombardy, when he was obliged to return, because of the intrigues of Odo, the French king, and Rudolph, duke of Burgundy. Two years after, he again crossed the Alps, cut his way to Rome, carried the imperial city by storm, and forced the trembling pope to place the crown on his head. He did not long enjoy it. Slow poison was administered to him; he expired before he reached Germany, and his remains were interred at Ratisbon.

The great vassals and bishops now directed the affairs of the empire. By the influence of Otho, duke of Saxony, and Hatto, archbishop of Mayence, Louis, son of Arnulf, was placed on the throne, though only seven years old. The Hungarians still afflicted the land, following the course of the Danube, and though defeated in two great battles on the Ens, and near to Vienna, they returned in great numbers under warlike chiefs. Several margraves boldly advanced against them and perished in the field of battle; Louis barely escaped being taken prisoner; and at length a treaty was concluded between him and the Magyar chief, Louis consenting to

pay ten years' tribute, and to fix the Ens as the boundary of Hungary. The youthful monarch died A.D. 911, and with him ended the Carolingian dynasty in Germany.

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## CHAPTER II.

THE SAXON DYNASTY. A.D. 911-1024.

THE powerful dukes met in a diet to choose a successor to the imperial throne. Otho, duke of Saxony, was nominated, but he saw that his interests would be better promoted by placing the crown on the head of a weak prince whom he could manage, while he raised himself to independency and power in his own duchy. Conrad, duke of Franconia, was selected, and for eight years wisely held the reins of government. The peace of his reign was disturbed by the turbulency of the dukes, among whom Henry, the son of Otho, was distinguished. The Bavarians under Arnulf were at war with the Bohemians; the Hungarians continued their ravages in the south of Germany; and Arnulf, to strengthen his own position, appointed margraves in Austria, Carinthia, and the Tyrol. Conrad received a mortal wound in a battle with the Hungarians, and died A.D. 919. He foresaw that if his brother Eberhard ascended the throne, the empire would be torn by factions, and with his latest breath he counselled him to deliver the crown into the hands of Henry, duke of Saxony.

It is said that he was out shooting in the mountains when the ambassadors conveyed to him the request of the princes. Henry, surnamed the Fowler, instantly obeyed the nation's call, and according to the ancient custom still prevailing, was raised upon the shield, as the sign of his accession to the crown. His first endeavour was to gain the submission of those who had not recognised his sovereignty. The duke of Swabia still retained his independency, but oppressing the Italians, he was assassinated by them; and Henry married his widow to a relative, upon whom he bestowed the dukedom. The Hungarians again invaded Germany; but Henry, wishing to gain time to carry out his great plans, caused them to retire by promising to pay a yearly tribute, provided they were peaceful for nine years. This time was employed by him in subduing his other enemies, and introducing great reforms in the administration of the empire. He marched against the Hevelli, took their capital Brandenburg, not far from modern Berlin, made their territory the frontier of the empire, and placed a margrave over it. He next turned to Bohemia, secured the city of Prague, and obtained the allegiance of Wenzel, the duke.

During these conquests, he made great preparations for resisting the Hungarians when the treaty had expired. He erected a line of

forts on the frontiers, and built several fortified cities. These were garrisoned by a new order of troops, composed of free men, who were formed into a body of infantry capable of resisting the fierce onsets of the Hungarian horse, were trained to fight in the field as well as to defend the walls, and were placed under officers appointed by the crown. He also introduced great improvements in the vassalage which was rendered to the empire in time of war. Each duke, or bishop, brought his own complement, mounted on horse, and distinguished by his own banner; and these would rush with wild confusion into the battle field, and vie with each other in displays of valour. They were now formed into regular order; and, to facilitate the necessary discipline, Henry countenanced chivalrous institutions. The knights met at the tournaments, and contended with each other in the presence of fair ladies, whose admiration they courted. By these means the king prepared for the invasion of the Hungarians. At the expiration of the nine years the ambassadors demanded the annual tribute, and were refused. The Hungarians crossed in two bands; one was routed by the army in Saxony and Thuringia, the other advanced toward the emperor along the Saal. A desperate battle ensued. Henry addressed his troops, and aroused their martial spirit; they swore to conquer or to die; and when the picture of St. Michael advanced, as the banner of the empire, the deadly struggle commenced. Victory declared herself on the side of the Germans; 30,000 Hungarians were left on the field of battle, and the remainder fled with terror to their homes. Henry lived but one year after this victory, and was buried at his favourite residence, Quedlinburg, A.D. 936. His reign is remarkable for the union which pervaded the Germanic states, the internal and civil progress of the people, the erection of cities and fortresses, and the splendour which adorned his administration. From this period the crown of Germany remained elective, until the 6th of August, 1806, on which day the Emperor Francis II. abdicated the imperial throne, and declared the dissolution of the German empire. Austria was at this time but a dependency of the duchy of Bavaria.

Otho, the son of Henry, was unanimously called to the throne. The majesty of his appearance commanded the admiration of his subjects. His white hair waved over his shoulders; his eyes were bright and sparkling; his beard of an extraordinary length; his breast like that of a lion. His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was a scene of the most gorgeous splendour. The Archbishop of Mayence anointed him; the grand dukes crowded to do him homage; Gisibert, of Lotlringia, was his chamberlain; Eberhard, of Franconia, his carver; Hermann, of Swabia, his cup-bearer; and Arnulf, of Bavaria, his master of the horse. The throne, however, was by no means a seat of quietude and ease. The Hungarians again ventured to invade his territories, and the remaining sons of Henry were constantly intriguing and uniting with the great dukes. These were successfully quelled by Otho, who marched his armies against the insurgents, while he exercised his clemency towards the royal offenders. He also vigorously opposed the inroads of the Slavi in



the north; appeared with his forces in France to settle the disputes between Louis the king, and Count Hugo, of Paris; and then pushed his victorious troops into Denmark. By means of the disturbances among his dukes he was enabled to place those on the ducal thrones who would be favourable to him. He was himself the Duke of Saxony; his eldest son, Ludolf, who married the only child of the Duke of Swabia, was now duke of that province; his own brother, Henry, had obtained the hand of Arnulf's beautiful widow, and was Duke of Bavaria; while the marriage of Conrad the Red to his daughter secured to him the Duke of Franconia as his son-in-law; and the youthful King of Burgundy was a hostage at his court. The influence of the emperor was therefore powerful in his empire.

Otho had long wished to have the adherence of Italy, and an opportunity soon presented itself for securing it. Berengar II. had usurped the government and taken possession of the widow of Lothar. His proposal to marry her to his son was met by her with a haughty refusal, and she contrived to escape from the fortress in which she was confined to the castle of Canossa. Here she was besieged by the king, and sought the assistance of Otho. He rescued her from the danger, and, as he was now a widower, solicited and obtained her fair hand. His marriage, however, created jealousy in his family. His son Ludolf conspired with the Archbishop of Mayence, and gained Conrad to his side, through the influence of his wife, all of whom demanded the exclusion of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, who had rendered himself obnoxious to them. An adverse party was also formed among the Bavarians by Arnulf, son of the late duke, who allied himself to Ludolf. The emperor took up arms against the rebels, and after several times defeating them, succeeded in quelling the insurrection. Arnulf was killed when defending Ratisbon; Ludolf died in Italy, where he had been sent by Otho to command an army; Conrad was deprived of his dukedom, and died of a mortal wound in a battle with the Hungarians, who had been invited to the country by the adverse party in Bavaria. It was the last time they appeared as invaders in these provinces. The two armies met near Augsburg, on the 10th of August, 955. The rear of the Germans was routed, the ranks were wavering, when Conrad and Otho rushed, sword in hand, into the midst of the barbarians. Feats of valour and prodigies of strength were exhibited, and 100,000 Hungarians fell on that occasion, part slain on the battle field, part drowned in the streams, and part hunted down by the Bavarians in the wild forests.

Freed from intestine commotion, and the invasion of enemies, Otho was able to direct his attention to Italy. He caused his son Otho II. to be crowned King of Germany, crossed the Alps, expelled Berengar, entered Rome, and compelled Pope John XII. to crown him emperor. He exacted from the Romans an oath, not to elect any pope without the consent of the emperor; but as this was declared null and void soon after he left the city, he returned and deposed the pope. The Romans chose without his consent a new pope, Benedict V.; but Otho cited him to appear before him, broke

his crosier before his face, banished him to Hamburg, and appointed in his stead Leo VIII. After his death, the emperor placed John XIII. on the papal throne; and, by chastising some of the rebellious Romans, at length secured the submission of Italy. He obtained the beautiful Theophano, the eldest daughter of the Grecian emperor, Romanus, for his son; her charms attracted universal admiration, and she added still greater magnificence to the splendour of the German court. This wise emperor closed his eyes in peace, and with great satisfaction at the results of his reign, A.D. 973, and was buried with more than regal pomp at Magdeburg. The empire had been considerably extended during his reign. His power over the dukes was firmly established; Bohemia was included among the dukedoms; Poland and Denmark acknowledged his supremacy; Italy was subject to his authority. The frontier fortresses on the north and east kept the Scandinavians and the Slavi in check, Christianity was rapidly circulated among the people by the bishops and clergy, fairs were established in the cities, agriculture fostered, and the first silver mine opened in the interior of Germany.

Otho II. succeeded his father; but the luxury of his court, and the predilection of his wife for the sunny south, did not win the affection of his rough subjects. Henry of Bavaria quarrelled with the Duke of Swabia, and revolted; and Otho deposed him, and added his dominions to Swabia; but on this duke's death he bestowed Swabia on Conrad, Bavaria on Henry Minor, and Carinthia on Otho of Franconia. He repaired to Rome to quell the disturbances which had arisen respecting the papal throne; settled the quarrels of the petty princes of Capua, Benevento, and Salerno; and advanced against the Saracens, who had been invited to Italy by the Greeks, and defeated them at Tarentum. He was afterwards, however, completely routed by them with a very great slaughter, and only saved his own life by the fleetness of his horse. He resolved to avenge his defeat, but before he could collect his forces he died at Rome, in December, 983.

Otho III. was but three years old when his father died; and his grandmother, Adelaide, his mother, Theophano, and the Archbishop of Mayence, were joint guardians, and administered the empire. Henry was restored to Bavaria; but Austria was now separated from it and given to Count Leopold, grandson of Adalbert of Babenberg. This brave prince drove the Hungarians beyond the Enns, and planted colonies of Germans in the territory lately occupied by them, where Christianity, civilisation, and prosperity soon flourished. In 996, Otho was crowned at Rome, by Pope Gregory V., his relative, whom he had raised to the papal see. He defeated the Slavi; raised Boleslaw to the title of King of Poland; visited Venice, and exempted that rising republic from its annual tribute to the Italian kings; and marched to Rome to avenge the expulsion of Gregory V. by Crescentius, styled Consul of Rome, who had placed John XVI. on the throne. On his arrival, John fled, but was captured, conducted through the city on an ass, and deprived of his sight; while Crescentius was beheaded, with twelve of his followers.

The emperor was deeply affected by the death of Gregory, who, it is supposed, died of poison in 999; and Otho met with his death, probably from the same cause, three years after, A.D. 1002.

Otho dying childless, the crown was again an object of ambition and strife. It was finally placed on the head of Henry II., duke of Bavaria, the nearest of kin to the deceased emperor; who, for his piety, and his munificent donations to the church, was surnamed the Holy. At one time he even wished to become a monk at Strasburg; but he had no sooner taken the vow of obedience, than he was imperatively commanded to resume his crown. His wife, Cunigunda, was of a similar disposition, and both had taken the vow of eternal chastity, and remained childless. In his contests with the Duke of Bohemia and the King of Poland, he did not display any great martial spirit; but in Italy he was able to overcome Harduin, who had usurped the throne, and had twice risen against his authority. He was crowned with his pious wife at Rome, A.D. 1013 by the Pope, who gave to him the golden ball, as the emblem of the globe over which he was to rule. He also quieted disturbances in the Netherlands; calmed the angry passions of the dukes, each of whom jealously marked the least accession of power granted to his neighbour; and he pleased the Pope and the clergy by the churches he built, and the monasteries he endowed. He died A.D. 1024, was buried at Bamberg, and with him the Saxon dynasty ceased. With his dying voice he pointed out Conrad, the powerful duke of Franconia, as his successor.

During the reign of the Saxon emperors, important changes had taken place in the constitution of the empire. The power of the great dukes was weakened by the elevation of distinguished families as counts, who, though nominally subject to the dukes, rapidly increased in wealth and influence, until they were able to check the domineering authority of their superiors. The free cities also rose to great importance. Charters were granted to them, securing freedom from the power of the dukes, the right of coinage, and the collection of dues. They were placed under the direction of a governor appointed by the crown, who was generally a neighbouring count; and who administered justice in time of peace, and marched at the head of the city troops in the time of war. Next in rank was the city council, composed of twelve aldermen with their president or mayor; who took cognisance of the petty civil affairs, and filled the office of the governor when he was absent. The inhabitants of the cities were divided into two classes: the citizens, who were the proprietors either of houses or land in the city, or of land in the vicinity; and the bondmen, consisting of the servants of the citizens, and the artificers, journeymen &c., who sought employment within the walls. At first the citizens alone enjoyed the privileges of guilds; but as the artisans increased in wealth and importance, and the honour of knighthood raised them in rank, they gradually obtained great privileges, formed themselves into guilds, and acquired a powerful influence in the corporate cities. Commerce also now began to flourish. In 996, Otho III. gave permission to

the Jews, French, and Lombards to traverse the country with wares, and for a long period the Italian pedlars were celebrated throughout Germany. The age was by no means favourable to the growth of literature. The labours of Alcuin disappeared amid the din of war and bloodshed; the bishops were more anxious for their ease, or their temporal power, than the advancement of learning; and the clergy were notoriously ignorant. Occasionally a gleam of light came forth from an old monastery; which, however, feeble, seemed to shine resplendently amid the surrounding gloom. In 870, there appeared a metrical version of the gospels by Ottfried, a Benedictine monk; and the tenth century gave birth to three great chroniclers. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona A.D. 946, composed a chronicle and biography of the popes; Wittekind of Corvey, A.D. 973, wrote a history of Saxony; and Ditmar, bishop of Merseburg also a history of the Saxon emperors. Painting, music, and sculpture were also cultivated; and many splendid churches erected in the Byzantine and Roman style of architecture.

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### CHAPTER III.

THE FRANCONIAN DYNASTY. A.D. 1024-1137.

ON the death of Henry II., the dukes, bishops, and counts, with their trains, met near Worms, and elected Conrad II. as their emperor. His first act was one of great importance, that of making the fiefs of the lesser nobility hereditary, by which the power of the greater was restrained. He visited all parts of his dominions, and regulated the affairs of the provinces. Burgundy was annexed to the empire; the duchy of Schleswig given to Canute, king of Denmark, as a fief; and the King of Poland forced to do homage. The Italians raised the standard of revolt; but the presence of Conrad soon quelled the disturbance. In 1027 he was solemnly crowned at Rome, when two kings, Canute and Rudolph of Burgundy honoured him with their presence. On his return, he was again disturbed by the insubordination of his great vassals in Swabia. The duke claimed Burgundy as his inheritance, and united with two powerful counts, Welf and Werner. They invaded the country; but were obliged to yield to the power of Conrad. To defend his country from the Hungarians, he intrusted the fortress of Ens to Count Ottocar, who erected the Fort of Steyer in the county that afterwards took thence the name Steyermark or Styria, A.D. 1031. Five years later, Conrad marched into Italy, to suppress the rising of the Italians; and during his lengthened stay there, he visited Rome, Capua, and Parma; and was most sumptuously entertained by Count Bonifacias at Marengo. The plague, however, broke out with dreadful violence,

and carried off nearly the whole of his army. Hermann, duke of Swabia, Conrad of Carinthia, and the lovely bride of Henry, the heir to the crown, were among its victims. The contests in Burgundy again called him home, and it was not till the Abbot of Clugny declared himself commissioned by Heaven to announce a universal and holy peace, that these broils were terminated. The emperor availed himself of this pretended mission, and the credulity of his subjects, to promote the tranquillity of the empire, and promulgated it as a law called the "Peace of God." Conrad died at Utrecht, A.D. 1039, and was buried at Spire; the foundation stone of whose cathedral he had laid nine years before.

Henry III. ascended the throne at a time when the wisdom of the statesman required to be blended with the courage of the warrior. He saw the necessity of still farther reducing the power of the dukes, and also of curbing the ambition of the papal hierarchy. Swabia he gave to Otho, a weak and peaceful count; Bavaria to his empress, Agnes of Poitou, who, being connected with the most powerful of the Burgundian families, would have secured that duchy to his authority, but for the claims which Henry king of France, put forth to the province. To settle these claims the emperor met the king in person, threw down the gauntlet before him, but was refused, and Burgundy remained in her steady adherence. Hungary also was now a scene of conflict. The throne was fiercely disputed by Peter and Aba; Henry advanced with an army to support the former, and, after a terrible loss, succeeded in placing him on the throne; but no sooner had he retired than the Hungarians again revolted, deprived Peter of his sight, and raised Andreas to the throne. Henry again marched against them; his army was cut to pieces, and himself obliged to flee across the border; but returning in 1051 with a powerful force, he recognised Andreas as king, and compelled him to do homage. The country between the Calenberg, on the Danube, in the vicinity of Vienna, and the Leitha, was then permanently severed from Hungary, and united to the increasing dominions of the count of Austria.

Henry interposed with a powerful hand in the disputes of the popes. Benedict IX. was opposed by Sylvester VII.; but, becoming enamoured of a beautiful girl, he sold his right to the tiara to Pope Gregory VI. Disappointed in obtaining the object of his affection, Benedict returned to Rome, and assumed the pontifical dignity; so that Rome witnessed the spectacle of three popes reigning in the papal city. Henry resolved to wipe away such a scandal to the church. In 1046 he visited Rome, called a convocation, deposed the three popes, and placed the German bishop of Bamberg on St. Peter's seat as Clement II.; and when he returned to Germany he carried the three ex-pontiffs to his court. Clement died in 1049, and Henry sent Damasus II., who enjoyed the papal chair for the short space of three weeks. The emperor then sent one of his own relations, Bruno, Bishop of Tull, who as Pope Leo IX. highly distinguished himself by the reforms he carried out, with the assistance of Hildebrand, a young man whose talents had recommended

him to the pope. When Leo died, Hildebrand solicited from the emperor the papal crown; but his time had not yet arrived; and Victor II. was raised to the dignity. What would have been the condition of the papal power, had the brave Henry lived, it is not for us to say. He was cut off in the prime of life, A.D. 1056, before he had carried out half of his intentions; and left behind him his sorrowing empress and his son Henry to guide the affairs of the empire at this crisis, when a mighty hand was required to resist the encroachments of the dukes, and to silence the insolence of the Roman hierarchy.

Henry was but five years old when his father died. His mother Agnes, a gentle, pious, and highly-cultivated woman, administered the empire as regent, assisted by the Bishop of Augsburg and the Archbishop of Ravenna, as her counsellors. When Pope Victor died, Hildebrand was again disappointed by the election of Stephen IX. by the Italians; but when Nicholas II. ascended the throne, Hildebrand began to carry out his long-cherished scheme of securing an universal ecclesiastical rule. One of his first acts was to declare that the election of the pope should be independent of the emperor, and be decided by the votes of the cardinals. He also declared that the pope was paramount over the feudatories in his dominions. The queen saw that thus her dignity was slighted, and her influence curtailed; and when Alexander II. was chosen by the cardinals, on the death of Nicholas, she declared the election illegal, and caused Honorius II. to be elected pope by the German bishops. Anno, the Archbishop of Cologne, who had risen to great eminence under the late king, now resolved to snatch the reins of power from the empress. A plot was formed to get possession of the young king, and the mother and son were invited to the Easter festival at Kaiserwerth A.D. 1062. After the banquet the child was taken to the Rhine, to see a fine boat, but was then seized and carried on board a vessel which instantly set sail. The young prince no sooner became aware of his situation than he sprang into the water, but was rescued and again carried on board the vessel, which soon reached Cologne with him as a prisoner. The mother was broken-hearted at her loss, resigned the regency, and retired to a convent. Anno now caused a decree to be passed, appointing the bishop in whose diocese the young emperor resided, regent; and then assuming that title, he went into Italy to settle the papal contests, and fixed Alexander on his throne. Meanwhile the youthful Henry had passed into the hands of Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen; who, instead of keeping him to the severe studies appointed by Anno, allowed him unbounded freedom, surrounded him with the follies of a licentious court, and inspired him with contempt for the nobles and the German people.

When he was declared capable of bearing arms, Henry fixed his imperial court at the Harzburg. He openly scorned the Saxons, decked his mistresses publicly with gold, and roused the spirit of the people. Anno cited him to appear before the assembly; but, as he refused to obey, the conspirators surrounded his palace, seized his person, and caused his counsellor Adalbert to flee. The empire

was in a state of anarchy; the Slavi invaded the north, and destroyed Hamburg and Meeklenburg; the Saxons were burdened with heavy taxes, as well as treated with contempt; and after patiently enduring it for some time, a vast conspiracy was formed, into which most of the northern princes and bishops entered. A petition stating their grievances was presented to Henry at Goslen; which being scornfully rejected by him, excited the Saxons to revenge their insults. They besieged the emperor; but he fled with fear, and after vainly appealing to his nobles, took refuge in Worms. The people there rose to welcome their king, and would have assisted him in his struggle; but the weak monarch threw himself on the protection of his princes, and was at length obliged to sign a treaty of peace, and to abolish the taxes under which the Saxons groaned. Their inhuman atrocities, however, in dragging the remains of the emperor's brother and son from the grave that they might vent upon them their indignity, aroused the nation against them. Henry attacked them with a large force; and after a bloody battle, caused the Saxon nobles to flee, while he cut down the infantry by thousands. They were at length brought to submission, A.D. 1076.

On the death of Alexander, Hildebrand placed the tiara on his own head, under the name of Gregory VII.; and immediately began to execute his reforms. He decreed the celibacy of the clergy, and condemned the practice of simony, which had been increased to an enormous extent in the German empire, especially by Henry, who had frequently raised money by the sale of benefices. These acts of Gregory raised a violent storm throughout the empire. The bishops were divided; part advocating them as reforms, and the remainder resisting them as encroachments. Henry paid no attention to the edicts of Rome; and in reply to the haughty summons to appear before her tribunal and answer some charges laid by his subjects, convened a convocation at Worms, and deposed Gregory. A solemn council was held at the Lateran in 1076; when the pope excommunicated Henry, deposed him from his throne, and released his subjects from their oath of obedience. The effect on his rebellious subjects was instantaneous. The Saxons flew to arms; the people, except the free cities, forsook the emperor; Rudolph, duke of Swabia, was called to the throne, and the empire was the scene of rapine and distress. Henry now beheld the pitiable position in which he was placed, and resolved at any sacrifice to procure the revocation of the pope's interdict. He determined to throw himself at the feet of Gregory, and entreat his forgiveness. Accompanied by his queen, her infant son, and a solitary knight, he crossed the Alps in the depth of winter, and descended into the plains of Italy; where, on being known, a few Italian bishops and dukes joined themselves to him. Gregory was on his way to Augsburg, whither he had been invited by the Germans to settle the affairs of the empire; and was alarmed at the news that Henry was in Italy. He threw himself into the castle of Canossa; where he was welcomed by his friend and ally, the Countess Matilda. Gregory soon discovered the penitency of the emperor, and assumed a haughty bearing towards him. He

commanded him to enter the castle alone, when the gates closed upon him; and for three days and three nights the royal penitent stood with uncovered head and bare feet, in the cold between the walls of the fort, until the ambitious pope pleased to grant him absolution. Henry soon after broke his oath with the pope, assumed his regal authority, and marched into Germany, where his presence was hailed by those who were indignant at the audacity of the pontiff. Several fierce battles were fought between the friends of the emperor, and the papal partisans; Rudolph was mortally wounded; and his party, after vainly struggling with the increasing forces of Henry, at length yielded; and the elements of strife were hushed. Henry then marched to Rome, which for three years resisted his attacks; but at length he entered it, deposed Gregory, and installed in his place the bishop of Ravenna as Clement III. Here he was crowned emperor by Clement; but had no sooner retired to Germany than Gregory returned to Rome at the head of a band of Normans, who sacked the place, and committed such atrocities, that the pope deemed it safer to retire to Salerno, where he died A.D. 1085, exclaiming with his last breath, "Because I have loved justice and punished iniquity, I die an exile."

Europe was at this time moved by the enthusiasm, awakened among the crusaders. For a considerable period, pilgrimages had been made to the Holy Land by devout persons; who, after performing their vows, returned to their own land, with their long staff, black garments, and precious relics. The Arabs had long permitted these harmless pilgrims to gratify their curiosity; but the Jews were fearful lest the trade of the East should pass out of their hands; and induced the Caliph of Egypt to expel all the Christians from Jerusalem. This led to a general persecution of the Jews throughout Europe. Numbers of them committed suicide, or murdered their wives and families, rather than fall into the hands of the Christians; others embraced Christianity; and the rest either fled into distant countries, or were crushed by the fury of the people. Peter the Hermit rode from city to city on an ass with a crucifix in one hand, and his commission from Christ to rescue the Holy Sepulchre, in the other, and by his eloquence, aroused the people to undertake a crusade. The serfs collected in vast masses, and impatiently roved over the plains of Hungary towards Constantinople, the place of rendezvous; knights grasped their lances; bishops raised their crosiers; dukes collected their followers; and even women and children pressed forward to glory or to death. The sufferings they endured baffle description; thousands perished of cold, famine, and disease; the air was rendered pestilential by their carcases; and vast plains were whitened with their bones. Ida the margravine of Austria, with a long suite of German maidens, reached the Holy Land in safety, but was captured by the Turks; and it is said that she afterwards married a Turkish prince, and became the mother of the celebrated Zengis, the terrible scourge of the East.

While these crusaders were flocking to the East, Henry continued his quarrels with the papal party; but without success. His youthful



son Henry took up arms against his own father; and was countenanced by the pope, and supported by the nobles. The emperor appealed in vain to his rebellious son, and then placed himself at the head of what troops he could muster; but when the two armies met near Ratisbon, the aged man fled from fear. He was summoned to Coblenz; where he prostrated himself before his ungrateful child, exclaiming, "My son, my son, if I am to be punished by God for my crimes, at least stain not thine honour; for it is unseemly in a son to sit in judgment over his father's sins." He was required to deliver up the crown jewels; but instead of doing this, he adorned himself with them, and defied them to touch the sacred insignia. He was soon after stripped of them, and forced to sign his abdication; was reduced to the lowest state of poverty; and at length expired at Liege A.D. 1106, after he had sent his sword and his ring to his son as the tokens of his forgiveness.

The reign of Henry V. was disturbed by the same disasters which had clouded the days of his father. All his efforts to secure peace were unavailing; the popes excommunicated him because he would not cede to them the right of electing the bishops, and of controlling the property of the church; while the dukes contended for their independency, and strove to increase and consolidate their power. Saxony rose against his authority, and defeated his army in many severe battles. Pope Calixtus II. wrung out from him the right of investiture, and the impropriation of church property, with the exception of the royal dues; which exception secured the adherence of the free cities to Henry. His marriage with Matilda, daughter of Henry I. of England, united him with that country; but when war broke out between England and France, his attempt to assist his father-in-law was frustrated by the resistance of his subjects. This weak emperor, whose bad conduct deserved the opposition he met with, expired in the prime of life A.D. 1125, leaving the empire divided into several independent states; and with him the dynasty of the great Salic race terminated.

The mighty vassals of the crown again met in the plains between Mayence and Worms, for the purpose of electing a successor to the throne. They were arranged in their proper order; the Saxons occupied the north-east; the Franks the north-west; the Bavarians the south-east; and the Swabians the south-west. Each nation elected ten princes; who selected one from each. The Saxons chose Lothar, duke of Supplinburg; the Franks, Charles, Count of Flanders; the Bavarians, Leopold of Austria; and the Swabians, Frederick, duke of Hohenstaufen. Lothar secured the interest of the Welf, by marrying his daughter to Henry the Proud of Bavaria; and laid claim to the possessions of the Salic family against Frederick. Both took up arms; the Swabians for many years defended their rights, and Conrad, the brother of Frederick, who had returned from his crusade, assisted his brother; but the influence of pope Honorius II. whom Lothar had flattered and pleased, caused the duke of Supplinburg to be victorious, and to humble the power of Frederick. The emperor was crowned at Rome, and received the inheritance of the

countess Matilda to hold as a papal fief, which he bestowed on his son-in-law, Henry of Bavaria. He caused a law to be passed, that when one fief became vacant by the extinction of the family, instead of passing to the crown, the next of kin should inherit it. This promoted the influence of the house of Austria; for Henry besides Bavaria, possessed the lands of Matilda, and on the death of the emperor, inherited Saxony. Lothar died during a campaign in Italy and was buried at Königslutter, a town in Brunswick A.D. 1137.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE SWABIAN DYNASTY. A.D. 1137-1250.

DURING the preceding reigns, indications had been given of the rising of a violent storm, which now began to burst over the empire. Germany was now, and for centuries continued to be, the scene of a great struggle between two powerful parties, each of which strove for the mastery. We have already noticed the struggles of the Saxon party; but since the accession of the Bavarian Welf to that duchy, it was denominated the faction of the Welf or Guelph. This party was allied to the popes, and formed the antagonist of the emperor, whose faction received the appellation of the Waiblinger, or the Ghibeline. Though applied first to these two parties, the name Guelph was adopted by the Italians to denote all opponents to, and that of Ghibeline, the supporters of, the imperial authority in Italy. The Ghibeline party raised Conrad of Hohenstaufen to the throne; a brave and warlike prince, handsome in his person, and enthusiastic in his disposition. His opponent was surprised by his boldness, and delivered up to him the crown jewels; but when Conrad demanded Saxony, under the pretence that it was illegal to hold two duchies, Henry rebelled, and was deposed; while Saxony was given to Albert, and Bavaria to Leopold of Austria. These two provinces became instantly the scene of a fierce contest. Conrad dispatched his nephew Frederick, surnamed Barbarossa, or Red Beard; who took Zurich, and invaded the lands of the Welf; while he himself besieged his enemies at Weinsberg. After enduring a long siege, they were compelled to surrender; and Conrad granted a free passage to the women, and whatever they could carry. The duchess instantly took her husband on her shoulders, and all the women of the city followed her example, and marched out of the city gates, to the great astonishment of the emperor; who, struck with admiration at their heroism, permitted the garrison to withdraw. The death of Henry and Leopold put an end to the strife for a time; Saxony was given to Henry the Lion, and Bavaria to

Leopold's brother, Henry, who married the widow of Henry, the Proud; while Albert was recompensed with Brandenburg, which was raised to the dignity of a margraviate.

A fresh crusade was preached throughout Germany and France by St. Bernard. Zengis had taken Edessa, and massacred 30,000 of the Christians; and the cry of the oppressed resounded throughout Europe. In the spring of 1147, Conrad gathered an immense host at Ratisbon, and marched them towards Constantinople on their way to the East. Many were the disasters they met with on their passage. In the imperial city, their wild freaks aroused the jealous Greek, and procured his vengeance; and when they reached Asia Minor their sufferings were intense. The pilgrims were starving; food could only be procured at the most extravagant prices; the very flour was poisoned; and it was nothing strange for the Greek to receive the money, and then run away without giving anything in return. Still they pressed forward; the army was incautiously led among the mountains of Iconium; when it was suddenly attacked by the Turks, and completely routed. Conrad received two severe arrow wounds; and the wretched remnant of his brave troops found their way to Attalia, where the greater part was starved to death. In conjunction with Louis VII. of France, he attempted the siege of Damascus; but the treachery of the inhabitants, and the loss of his troops, induced him to return home; which he found again the scene of commotion. Welf had revolted against him, and Henry the Lion had claimed Bavaria. He lived to subdue them, and died A.D. 1152, it was suspected, of poison. The double eagle was introduced by him into the arms of the empire, imitated from those of the Greek emperor.

The crown now passed to Frederick, the nephew of the late emperor, who was surnamed by the Italians Barbarossa on account of his red beard. He was eminently qualified by nature and cultivation to wield the sceptre in this eventful age. Seventeen days after the death of Conrad, he was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort; and in five days was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. In the second year of his reign, he settled the disputes of Canute and Sueno respecting the crown of Denmark, by giving it to the latter to hold in fee; and when he had secured tranquillity at home by his wise administration, he directed his attention to the affairs of Italy. Complaints had reached him against Roger, king of Sicily; and ambassadors from the city of Lodi appeared before him to complain of the oppression of the Milanese. Frederick commanded the oppressors to refrain from such proceedings; but they tore his letter to pieces, and scarcely permitted the envoy to escape. He resolved to revenge the insult, crossed the Alps with his brave troops, and commanded his vassals to appear and do service. The Ghibelins obeyed, the Guelphs refused; and Frederick passing by Milan for the present, destroyed the towns with which she was in league. Tortona fell after two months siege, the walls were levelled to the ground, the city given up to plunder, and then burnt to ashes. At Pavia he seized the iron crown for himself, and marched towards the imperial

city, where Adrian IV. occupied the papal chair. Rome was at this time torn by faction. A mighty reformer had sprung up, named Arnold of Brescia, who excited the people against the pope, and wished to bring back the palmy days and resplendent virtues of the ancient republic. Adrian interposed his stern rule, and caused Arnold to be arrested, condemned, and burnt alive before the gate of the city. He, therefore, welcomed the emperor to his presence, while the inhabitants trembled with fear. The ceremony of coronation was performed in the church of St. Peter, and the emperor in return held the stirrup of the pope while he mounted: but scarcely had the scene closed, when the fury of Arnold's faction manifested itself. A tumult broke out among the people; Frederick's horse fell down, and placed his master's life in jeopardy; blood flowed in the streets; and it was with difficulty the emperor cut his way to his own country.

He found his empire in a state of anarchy. To intimidate others, he vigorously punished the Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was at deadly feud with the Archbishop of Mentz. He also rewarded the valour of Henry the Lion by giving to him the duchy of Saxony; and compensated Henry, the present duke, by creating Austria a duchy, and making it independent of Bavaria. William, count of Burgundy, had imprisoned the fair Beatrice, the heiress of that province, in a tower; and Frederick hastened to release her, and to raise her to his throne as empress; by which act Burgundy was added to his dominions. He also forced Boleslaw, king of Poland, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the German empire, and barefooted, and with his naked sword hung round his neck, to take the oath of fealty.

Having thus settled the affairs of Germany, Frederick turned towards Italy. In 1158 he crossed the Alps with an army of 100,000 infantry, and 15,000 cavalry, to oppose the Milanese; who had laid the cities of Lodi and Crema in ruins. He invested their city; but at length contented himself with receiving its surrender and the submission of the nobles, who came to him in a penitential garb to present him with the keys of the city. He regulated the affairs of Italy in a diet, and gave a new code to the cities; which decreed that all royal dues usurped by the dukes, margraves, and townships should relapse to the crown; that the nomination of princes, counts, &c., was invalid except when confirmed by the emperor; and that the great fiefs should be unalienable, and indivisible. A new tax was also imposed; but when the collection was attempted in Milan, the people rose, and drove Otho, the friend of the emperor, out of the city. Frederick resolved to punish severely this rebellious people. Milan was closely invested by his troops; four times did the people attempt to assassinate him; and he swore that he would not wear his crown till he had razed Milan to the ground. On the 6th of March, 1162, the proud city was humbled; the citizens, emaciated by famine, and clothed in sackcloth, marched out of the city with a rope round their necks, and were allowed to remain for some time shivering in the cold till the emperor chose to see them.

A part of the city walls were thrown down; but the city, and the lives of the inhabitants were spared. The power of Milan, however, was broken; and the other cities, which had shared in her guilt, feared lest they would have to share in her fate also.

After returning to settle some disturbances between the dukes at home, the attention of Frederick was again called to Italy, by the contests between the popes. Victor IV., who had been supported by him in opposition to Alexander III., died; and the emperor recognised Guido, bishop of Crema, as Pope Paschal III. The Germans had rendered themselves odious to the Italians by their rapacity, and insolence; and were unable to oppose the triumphal entry of Alexander into Rome, where he laid an interdict upon the emperor. Frederick then undertook his third expedition against the eternal city. The towns in Lombardy had formed themselves into a league, and had restored their cities and churches; and were aroused by the extension of the imperial power. Before, however, he could attack these cities a fierce pestilence swept away nearly all his fine troops; he himself escaped with difficulty to the Alps; and having pronounced the whole of the Lombard league out of the empire, he arrived in his dominions a fugitive, after passing through many hair-breadth escapes, A.D. 1168.

He found the empire in a very unsettled condition. The various princes were animated by ambition to extend their dominions; and engaged in constant feuds with their neighbours. Henry the Lion was the most powerful of the dukes, and increased his influence over the Slavi, and the Danes. The aged Welf had given himself up to luxury, and was surrounded by nobles who feasted and danced for weeks together at his expense. To meet all the demands, he had recourse to the emperor's treasury; and when he died, having no issue, he left the whole of his Swabian possessions, and the lands of Matilda in Italy, to the emperor. This aroused the spirit of Henry the Lion, who sought an opportunity for revenge. Italy was again the scene of revolt. Paschal died; and the Ghibelines elected Calixtus III. in his stead; a man very inferior to Alexander; who still claimed the papal chair. The Italians had erected the fortress of Alessandria in honour of their pope; who encouraged them to revolt against the emperor. To prevent a disruption, Frederick sent Christian, archbishop of Mentz, with a small army into Italy. This brave man was as distinguished as a statesman, as he was celebrated for his feats of valour. He rode a splendid war-charger, upon which he proudly sat armed cap-à-pie, with a golden helmet on his head, his episcopal mantle on his shoulders, and a heavy club clenched in his hand, with which he dashed out the brains of thirty-eight of his enemies. His efforts to curb the fury of the Italians were unavailing; and he solicited the emperor to appear in person with his army. Frederick persuaded the fierce Henry to accompany him; and crossed the Alps with the flower of his troops. Susa was burnt to the ground; and Alessandria was besieged with skill and energy, but was relieved by the advance of the united army of the Lombards. Henry grew discontented; and, while the emperor was prostrated by

sickness near Lake Como, he sent to declare his intention of returning. Frederick threw himself on his knees, and entreated him, for the honour of the empire, not to abandon him in the hour of his need: but the proud duke refused to listen; and the beautiful empress raised her husband from his knees, and said to him, "God will help you, when at some future time you remember this day, and the Welf's insolence." Henry withdrew; and Frederick calmly awaited the approach of the Lombards. They attacked him at Legnano on the 29th of May 1176. The Germans fought with the energy of despair, but were overpowered by the number of the enemy; the emperor's horse fell in the thickest of the fight; and his shattered forces, imagining that he was killed, fled. A few days afterwards, however, he rejoined his troops at Pavia; where his presence soon dispelled the gloom the report of his death had occasioned.

Frederick now sued for peace with Pope Alexander; who met him at Venice, and removed from him the sentence of excommunication. Calixtus was induced to retire to a rich abbey; and the bishops, who had been raised to their sees by the emperor's authority, were confirmed in their respective dioceses. He then returned to Germany and summoned the proud Henry to appear before him; and on his refusal, pronounced upon him the ban of the empire. Henry strengthened himself in Saxony; but his pride and suspicion, separated his vassals one by one from him; and after being several times defeated, he threw himself at the emperor's feet at Erfurt. Frederick generously forgot his past treason, and remembered only his former friendship; raised him from his lowly position, embraced him, and shed tears of joy at the reconciliation. His dominions, however, were divided; Brunswick alone remained to him; and for the preservation of order and peace, he was exiled for three years. He set out with a small retinue for England to his father-in-law Henry II., whose daughter Matilda he had married.

On the death of Alexander, Frederick secured the interest of Pope Urban; the treaty with the Lombards was renewed at Constance; and tranquillity reigned throughout the empire. A grand diet was convened at Mentz, which was a scene of unrivalled splendour and festivity. Forty thousand knights appeared on their prancing steeds; the most lovely women surrounded the empress Beatrice; the emperor and his sons were received with the most enthusiastic applause; while the groups of nobles, bishops, and common people diversified the scene, and increased its magnificence. Historians have exhausted the power of language in describing the events of those palmy days; while songs, still remembered and sung, perpetuate the pleasures of that joyful occasion.

Amid these peaceful scenes, there soon burst forth the discordant note of war from the Holy Land. Saladin had been rapidly extending his conquests; the chief cities of Palestine, except Tyre, Tripolis, and Antioch, had fallen into his hands; and the churches, with the exception of that of the holy sepulchre, had been converted into mosques. William bishop of Tyre hastened to the west, to implore

assistance against the foe; a new crusade was enthusiastically preached throughout Europe; and Frederick, though now in his seventieth year, joyfully took up the cross, assembled around him his son Frederick, and his great vassals, and set out at the head of 150,000 warriors, besides volunteers. He resolved to pass through Hungary, from whose king he met with a friendly reception; held a magnificent tournament at Belgrade; and hanged up some Servian robbers, as a warning to their companions who had harassed his march. The Greek emperor Isaac was lavish of promises which were never fulfilled; and afterwards even refused him provisions, and cast the imperial ambassador into a dungeon. The ire of the Germans was aroused; the soldiers plundered and desolated the country for miles; the cities which had injured the pilgrims were destroyed; and the boasted capital itself was saved solely by Isaac placing his fleet at the disposal of the emperor to convey the crusaders to Asia. When landed on the destined shores, they cut their way through unheard-of difficulties and dangers; the Sultan of Iconium proudly attempted to stay their progress; but his troops were defeated, and his offer of peace on payment of a large sum, rejected with scorn. The devoted host still pressed onward in their journey, though disease and famine followed their steps; and water was sometimes so scarce that they drank the blood of their horses. The emperor's son, Frederick, gained a splendid victory over the Turks, took possession of Iconium, and captured immense booty. After refreshing the troops, the crusaders pressed towards Syria; but on reaching the small stream Calycadnus in Cilicia, the impatient emperor plunged into it, that he might swim over on horseback, where the strength of the current carried both horse and rider away; and Frederick Barbarossa was lost. His son Frederick, duke of Swabia, succeeded him in the command of the army; but one year after, he died of a pestilential disorder at the siege of Acre; while of the mighty host which followed the standard of the cross to the east, comparatively few returned to their homes.

Frederick was remarkable for his noble and majestic appearance. His short fair hair curled over a broad and massive brow; his fine blue eyes beamed with intelligence; and his open countenance displayed the benevolence of his heart, and commanded the admiration and esteem of his subjects. His mind had been carefully cultivated; his thoughts were clear, and his feelings strong; his views comprehensive and manly; and his decision firm and unbending; courage was associated with tenderness; and admiration of the beautiful, with a full recognition of the useful. His memory was stored with varied knowledge, such as was by no means common in his age; he patronised learning, and gathered around him the literati of the day; and though always resisting the encroachments of the papal hierarchy, was a true friend to the best interests of religion. He lived respected and beloved by his subjects, and died lamented by them; the dreams of a golden age were so completely associated with his existence, that his return from the gloomy shades was long expected by his loving followers, as the various

legends respecting him will testify. His remains were solemnly entombed in St. Peter's Church at Antioch A.D. 1190.

After the death of Frederick, duke of Swabia, the command of the army devolved on Leopold of Austria, by whom the siege of Acre was carried on with vigour. It is reported that once when storming a town, his white coat was so completely soaked in blood that the middle beneath the girdle alone remained white. This bloody coat-of-arms, represented by a white bar on a red ground, was adopted by him instead of the esutecheon he had hitherto borne, that of Babenberg, an eagle; and has been retained by Austria to the present time. Richard Cœur-de-Lion, king of England, and Philip king of France, arrived with large reinforcements, the siege was carried on with the greatest energy, and at length the town surrendered. Richard offended the Germans, and the king of France; Philip returned home, and Leopold was obliged to borrow money to feed his troops. On one occasion Richard opposed the Duke of Austria, and tore his banner from his camp; which was overlooked now in the time of his distress, but was remembered and avenged when he was in Germany. Richard sailed from Ascalon for the shores of England, but suffered shipwreck in the Adriatic. He was proceeding through Germany in disguise, when he was discovered in the kitchen of an inn, cooking a fowl, at Erdberg near Vienna. Leopold instantly arrested him, and communicated the news of his capture to the emperor Henry VI.; who ordered the king to be brought to Worms; where he was accused of the murder of Conrad of Montserrat, and of depriving the German leaders of their share of the spoils in the Holy Land. The news of his imprisonment soon spread through the empire; his queen Eleanor filled Europe with her complaints; the price of 150,000 silver marks was fixed as his ransom; and two abbots were dispatched from England to ascertain his situation. When the king was brought before the diet, he ably defended himself from all the charges brought against him: his eloquence even drew tears from many who were present; and the emperor promised him his friendship, and assigned him a magnificent abode at Mentz. After a year's captivity, his ransom was brought to the emperor by Queen Eleanor and the Bishop of Rouen; and Richard soon after landed at Sandwich, and at length reached London; where the citizens displayed their wealth with such profuseness, that a German who was present could not help saying, "If our emperor had known the riches of England, thy ransom, O king, would have been far greater."

While these events were taking place in the Holy Land, Henry the Lion had returned to Germany, and attempted to reconquer the duchy of Saxony. He destroyed the city of Bardewick, and put all its inhabitants to the sword; and Henry VI., then regent of the empire, in revenge marched to Hanover, and burnt that city. The news of his father's death, induced Henry to conclude a truce with the Welf, and to hasten into Italy to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff; and on his return, he was completely



reconciled with Henry the Lion. This brave prince died at Brunswick A.D. 1195, where he had lately amused himself with collecting and perusing old chronicles. Henry VI. endeavoured to work out the principles his father had adopted. He feared the power of the pope, and resolved to shake his authority in Italy. He had married Constantia, aunt of William king of Apulia and Sicily; and on his death, claimed the inheritance, and was crowned king by the trembling pope A.D. 1191. The increasing power of Henry, however, was soon a source of great alarm to the pope, and to check it, the pontiff placed him under an interdict; but the emperor treated it with contempt, and cruelly murdered all those who refused to obey his will. He formed the plan of extending his dominions beyond Constantinople into the east, and commenced a crusade for the purpose of carrying it out. Alexius who had deposed Isaac the Greek emperor, and deprived him of his sight, was called to account for his crimes by Henry; who threatened to invade him in his capital. A vast force set out headed by Conrad the chancellor, and the Dukes of Austria, Carinthia, Brandenburg, and others. Cyprus took the oath of fealty, and the king of Armenia swore allegiance; the cities of Sidon, Berytos, and others soon fell into their hands; and the whole of Palestine would have been systematically reduced, but for the news of the death of the emperor, who died at Messina in the prime of life, either by an iced beverage which he incautiously took, or by poison, A.D. 1197. The crusaders' camp was thrown into commotion by the event; part immediately returned home, and the remainder followed their example before long.

While the late emperor was in Italy, innumerable feuds had arisen in Germany. The bishops attempted to increase their power, but were resisted by the nobility and the people; and the princes were constantly disputing with each other respecting their territories. Philip, the last of Barbarossa's sons, succeeded to the duchy of Swabia, and also to the imperial crown. Constantia fled with her son Frederick to the feet of pope Innocent III., and entreated his assistance; by whom the youthful prince was crowned King of Apulia and Sicily. He was, however, only permitted to hold it in fee of the pope, who was anxious to secure the whole of Italy to his authority. Spoleto, Ravenna, and Ancona were given to him by the grateful Constantia; the Lombard cities, rejoicing at the thought of being free from German rule, made terms with the pontiff; Rome was secured to his authority; and soon the whole of Italy became a papal province. Philip, however, was by no means securely fixed in his own dominions. Otho, the son of Henry the Lion, laid claim to the crown; sought the alliance of England and Denmark, and the favour of the pope; and was crowned by his faction at Cologne, which he had taken by force. Both parties flew to arms; Philip besieged Strasburg, and defeated Otho who was marching to its relief, and some of his powerful partisans. The pope was induced by this turn in the affairs to recognise Philip; and an interview took place between the two rivals at Cologne, where it was settled that Philip should enjoy the crown during his lifetime, and that Otho

should succeed him. Philip did not long retain the sceptre. Otho, cousin of Louis of Bavaria, had been promised the hand of one of the emperor's daughters ; but was afterwards refused, on account of his licentiousness and guilt. He then sought the daughter of Henry of Silesia, and was the bearer of a letter from Philip to him, in which that prince was warned of Otho. He broke open the seal, and read its contents ; and filled with rage, rapidly returned to Bamberg, where the emperor was holding his court, rushed into his apartment, and ran him through with his sword while he was playing at chess, A.D. 1208.

Philip's widow, Irene, retired to the ancestral castle of the Hohenstaufen, where she died of grief ; but her youthful daughter Beatrice threw herself, weeping, at the feet of Otho, and demanded vengeance on her father's murderer ; which was speedily granted ; for he was slain at Ebrach, and his castle reduced to ruins. Otho now feared the youthful Frederick, king of Sicily, and that he might not gain followers in Germany by marrying the daughter of Philip, sought and obtained her hand for himself. He hurried to Rome to gain the pope's favour, humbled himself before him, conceded the right of investiture, took the oath of obedience, and then received the crown as the reward of his submission. The Italians, however, rose against the Germans ; and as the pope did not attempt to protect the emperor, Otho broke his oath, and withheld Tuscany and Ancona from the church. Innocent retaliated by excommunicating him, and commanding the German princes to elect Frederick in his stead, A.D. 1212. Otho endeavoured to obtain possession of the King of Sicily, but the tidings that the princes had chosen Frederick as their emperor, called him to Germany. He laid waste the archbishopric of Magdeburg, put the king of Bohemia under the ban of the empire, and made vigorous efforts to reinstate himself ; but the appearance of Frederick attracted the attention and gained the support of the nobles. Beatrice, Otho's queen died ; the Swabians and Bavarians left his camp ; and he retired, though still resolved to contest the throne. Constance shut their gates against him ; and as he passed along the Rhine, he was driven from place to place like a fugitive. He was wounded in a conflict with France in Flanders, and defended himself for some time in Brunswick ; until having slain his inveterate foe Albert of Magdeburg in 1215, he remained quiet till his death A.D. 1218.

Frederick meanwhile had gained the affections of the people. All foresaw the glory his reign would bring to them, and hastened to render homage to the illustrious descendant of Frederick Barbarossa. The German bishops were propitiated, and the emperor's son elected king of Apulia and Sicily ; while to appease the pope, Frederick promised to raise a fresh crusade to the Holy Land. Before, however, he could undertake the expedition, the affairs of Italy claimed his notice. In 1220 he was crowned at Rome by Honorius III., and then proceeded to regulate the administration of his hereditary possessions. The enthusiasm, however, which once had gathered together the vast forces for the crusades, had very

considerably abated; and it was not till 1127 that the emperor collected his troops for that purpose. Through the influence of Hermann von Salza, grand master of the Teutonic order, he married Iolante, daughter of John king of Jerusalem, and claimed in her right the eastern kingdom. The crusaders assembled in great numbers to enroll themselves under his banner; but a fierce pestilence swept over his camp, and carried off the the flower of his army. The remainder embarked for their crusade; but advanced no farther than the Morea, when they abandoned their enterprise. Gregory IX., who had succeeded Honorius, was enraged at the miserable failure of the expedition, and anathematised the emperor for the non-fulfilment of his oath. Frederick resolved to wipe out the stain upon his honour; and collected a fresh band of holy adventurers, with which he set sail A.D. 1228. The aged pope was not prepared for such energy and decision as Frederick manifested; and had designed to alienate his subjects from him, and consolidate the hierarchical power. He reminded him that it was improper for one under the interdict of the church to engage in so pious an undertaking; and commanded the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the noble order of knights to oppose him in his efforts. Frederick was not the man to be defeated by the threats of the pope; and, therefore, sought and obtained an alliance with Kamel, the sultan of Egypt, and immediately set out for Palestine. The patriarch, the templars, and the hospitallers, avoided him as an excommunicate, and refused to render him any assistance; but the Sultan agreed to give him Jerusalem, and the neighbouring territory, on condition that he would allow the Mohammedans to make pilgrimages to a mosque within the walls; and Frederick, notwithstanding all the efforts of the pope and his emissaries, took possession of the Holy City, and placed the crown on his own head. On his return, he hastened into Italy to counteract the plottings of the crafty pontiff; who had raised a body of troops, bearing the insignia of St. Peter's keys, and placed John of Jerusalem at their head; with whom and the aid of the Milanese and Lombards, he ravaged the estates of Frederick. The hasty approach of the emperor and his troops caused the trembling pope to accede to terms of peace, and to release Frederick from the interdict; but the Lombards still held out, unmoved by Gregory's pious exhortations, and the emperor's severe threats.

The affairs of Germany soon called for the presence of Frederick there. Henry, who had been appointed regent, was unable to restrain the insolence of the counts and petty princes; who seized every pretext to foment quarrels with their neighbours, and to devastate their lands. To conciliate them, he summoned a diet at Worms; where he published an imperial edict, which rendered the bishops and great vassals more independent of the emperor, and more powerful over the people than they had hitherto been; and which aimed a severe blow at the liberties of the free cities. He also entered into a secret treaty with the pope and the Lombards, and then publicly announced his assumption of the crown. The princes, however, did not flock to his standard, as he had expected; the Lombards did not

divert the emperor's attention ; and when Frederick arrived in Germany, his ungrateful son, Henry, threw himself on his knees before him, and sued for pardon. This was granted to him ; but on his attempting to poison his father, he was imprisoned first at San Felice in Apulia, then in Calabria, and at length at Martorano in Apulia, where he died A.D. 1240.

On the death of Iolante, Frederick sought the hand of Isabella, the sister of Henry III. of England. He esteemed beauty as the chief glory of woman ; and to be assured of her claims to that quality, he dispatched his faithful chancellor Peter de Vineis to England to report on her charms. The princess was received with a magnificence which could scarcely be surpassed. The citizens of Cologne went out to meet her in their finest attires, and decked with garlands ; while the most fantastic devices were erected to welcome the queen to the city. Worms, where the nuptials were celebrated, blazed with splendid pageantries, each of which displayed oriental taste, and eastern splendour. In the same year, 1235, Frederick convened a diet at Mentz, and attempted to introduce the reforms he had drawn out for Apulia ; but subsequent events proved that his German subjects could not be so easily placed under an organised government as the Italians.

While Frederick remained in Germany, none of his subjects resisted his will, except the duke of Austria ; though the calm which pervaded all classes, was but too evidently significant of the storm which was rising and which would burst out in its fury when he had retired to Italy. Frederick the Warlike, duke of Austria, was a man of lawless character ; he had assisted the usurper Henry against his father, opposed Henry of Bavaria, and attacked the king of Hungary in his own dominions. His dissoluteness rendered him a terror to his subjects ; and when, on one occasion, he carried off the beautiful Brunehilda from Vienna, which had been raised to the dignity of a free city, the citizens advised him if he valued his life, to quit their city immediately. A powerful count, however, was now rising in importance before whom the duke of Austria was ultimately to fall. The house of Hapsburg had been increasing and establishing its power by the bravery and ambition of its sons. Rudolph had recommended himself to the notice of the emperors by his courage ; his son Albert IV. had followed the imperial banner in Italy, and afterwards flocked to the standard of the cross in Palestine, and died at Ascalon ; while Albert's youthful son Rudolph was brought up in the camp of Frederick, where he was early trained to arms ; and on the death of his father, succeeded to the title and possessions in Alsace. After carrying on several struggles with his relatives, and increasing his power, he served under Ottocar, king of Bohemia, against the Prussians. A crusade had been undertaken against these barbarians, who for a long time resisted the attacks of the fierce knights ; but at length they were subdued, and several important cities erected.

A vast horde of Tartars now swept over the neighbouring countries on their way to Germany. Fire and devastation marked their

progress with fearful distinctness; the Russian tribes and the Poles vainly attempted to stay their advance; Silesia was ravaged, its towns and villages reduced to ashes, and its inhabitants slain; and after defeating the army sent to oppose them, they roved along till they came to Olmütz to which they laid siege. Here, however, they met with a severe resistance; and after vainly attempting to storm the place, they retired to Hungary, where they were defeated, and the greater portion slain by the inhabitants.

In 1236 Frederick again passed into Italy, where he carried on war against the cities devoted to the Guelphs. He took a band of Moors into his service, by whose aid he gained a splendid victory at Corte Nuovo, broke the power of the Lombards, and procured the submission of all the cities, except Milan, Bologna, Piacenza, and Brescia. He gave his daughter to his friend and ally Ezelino, and raised his son Enzo to the throne of Sardinia. The pope was enraged at the success of the emperor, and the elevation of his son; he encouraged the resistance of the Lombard league; and on Palm Sunday 1239, again excommunicated Frederick; who nevertheless continued the war with great vigour, and advanced towards the imperial city. Gregory resolved to assemble the clergy, and arm himself with the authority of the whole church. A convocation was appointed to be held at Easter in Rome, to which all the clergy were summoned. Frederick determined to prevent their meeting; and persuaded Enzo to equip a fleet, and waylay the French cardinals and bishops who came by sea from Genoa to Rome. About one hundred prelates, and a large sum of money fell into his hands; the designs of Gregory were frustrated; the imperial banners waved high in Italy; the church plate filled the treasury of the emperor; and even Rome itself was closely besieged; when suddenly Gregory expired within the walls in the ninetieth year of his age.

The death of the pope deprived Frederick of a certain victory. After a short respite, the cardinals elected Sinibald Fiesco, the friend of the emperor, as Innocent IV.; but the monarch was well aware of the change the tiara would make in him, and exclaimed, "Instead of remaining my friend, he will become my enemy! for no pope can be a Ghibeline." He was not deceived. Innocent soon abandoned Italy, and fixed his seat at Lyons; and continued the excommunication of the emperor. He convoked a great council to consider the charge of heresy against the emperor. Thaddeus of Suessa appeared to defend his royal master: but it was soon evident that the council had met to condemn, and not to investigate the charges brought against the emperor. The dreadful anathema was repeated; Frederick was declared a perjurer, a peace-breaker, a robber of churches, profaner of sanctuaries, a heretic; his subjects were released from their oath of obedience; and all who adhered to him were threatened with excommunication; and as the whole assembly lowered their torches to the ground, Innocent declared with a loud voice, "May the emperor's glory and prosperity thus vanish for ever!" Frederick received the tidings of their proceedings with calmness and dignity. He protested against the charges made by the pope; and wrote to

justify himself before the crowned kings of Europe. He subdued the factious spirit of the Lombards, and made his power respected in Italy. Innocent meanwhile stirred up rebellion in Germany, and caused Henry Raspe of Thuringia to be proclaimed emperor in opposition to Conrad, the son of Frederick. By bribes and fair promises, some of the supporters of the regent were withdrawn, and Raspe was enabled to defeat Conrad; but the free cities, and Otho of Bavaria quickly came to the help of the son of Frederick, and overcame Henry at Ulm; and the usurper, being wounded, retired to Wartburg, where he expired A.D. 1247. The pope then persuaded William of Holland to accept the imperial crown, who weakened considerably the power of Conrad; and the princes were too eager to promote their own interests by these troublesome events, to consider the danger they were placing the empire in by their desertion of the cause of Frederick. Misfortunes even befell the illustrious emperor in Italy. Enzo was taken prisoner when besieging Bologna, and Ezelino was suspected of wavering in his attachment to the emperor: but these disasters did not affect him so much as did the conduct of his old friend, Peter de Vincis. He strongly recommended to Frederick a certain physician; but the report having reached him that Peter had embraced the papal cause, and intended to poison him—the emperor resolved to satisfy himself by giving the medicine which had been prepared for him, to a malefactor. The result was instantaneous; the malefactor died: and Frederick gave utterance to the sorrow of his heart when he beheld the proof of his friend's treachery. Peter was deprived of his sight, and thrown into prison: where the wretched man put an end to his existence by dashing his head against the wall. The emperor continued his wars; but growing jealous of his friends, he made overtures of peace, which were rejected by the haughty pontiff. The war was then renewed; but the brave Frederick was suddenly overtaken by illness, and died in the arms of his son Manfred in the fifty-sixth year of his age—and was interred at Palermo, A.D. 1250.

Thus closed the eventful reign of this distinguished emperor, whose talents and learning have justly thrown a halo of glory around his administration. Though not tall, Frederick possessed a handsome form, a fine open forehead, and a countenance replete with nobility, intelligence and benevolence. He had been carefully educated by his mother Constantia, and early acquired a degree of learning remarkable for that age. His mind had been disciplined by the science of the east, and refined by an exuberance of classic lore: his imagination enriched by eastern splendour, and chastened by the lovely scenery of Sicily where his youthful days were passed. His body acquired strength and agility, by the various chivalrous exercises in which he delighted; while his courage nerved him in battle, and supported him in adversity. The peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, drew out the nobler qualities of his soul. He combatted the popes with resolution; unawed by the ban of excommunication, or their fierce denunciation. He bore with magnanimity

the ingratitude of his friends ; rebuked with holy energy the impious dogmas of the Roman hierarchy ; and, though not free from some of the superstitions of the age, Frederick rose above his contemporaries like some mountain peak upon which the first rays of light play, while all beneath is wrapped in gloom. He was sometimes as austere and passionate, as at other times he was mild and generous ; a lover of pleasure, as well as of chivalry and literature. He surrounded himself with the noblest bards, and the most beautiful women ; sung with his rich clear voice the love-sonnets he composed in his amorous moments ; and shared his sympathies with his menagerie of rare animals, his Oriental court and Moorish dancing girls, the prosecution of war, the administration of the empire, and the progress of science and art. Many palaces sprang up under his fostering care at Messina, Palermo, &c. ; a university was founded at Naples ; and the medical school at Salerno was crowded with enthusiastic students. Troubadours, artists, and statesmen, were welcomed to his court ; which was rendered brilliant by wit, intellect and wealth. Seven crowns adorned the head of Frederick ; and when his tomb was opened in 1781, he was found wrapped in embroidered robes, his feet booted and spurred, his head wearing the imperial crown, and his hands grasping the golden ball and the royal sceptre. Well would it have been for Germany and the world had he lived to carry out his great design of reducing the dignity of the pope to that of the first bishop of the Christian church.

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## CHAPTER V.

THE INTERREGNUM. A.D. 1250-1273.

The news of Frederick's death was hailed with joy by the papal party. The pope declared his possessions forfeited, and hastened into Naples ; Conrad IV. Frederick's eldest son, was driven out of Germany, and sought to gain the estates of his father in Italy, and the protection of the pope ; and the cities revolted against Manfred, another son of Frederick, who had been appointed regent of the two Sicilies. These two brothers united their forces, captured Capua, and razed the walls of Naples. The pope offered the crown first to Richard of Cornwall, then to Edward, son of Henry of England, and at length to Charles count of Anjou, who accepted it. Conrad died A.D. 1254, it is said of poison ; leaving an only son two years old, who was named by the Italians Conradin. Manfred was appointed regent, carried on the war with vigour, and at length subdued his enemies. When, however, Charles landed with his vassals and adventurers, he immediately marched against Manfred. The two armies met under the walls of Benevento, where the Saracens fought bravely ; but the Apulian troops refused

to move, and Manfred seeing all was lost, threw himself into the thickest of the fight, and nobly fell covered with wounds. Charles refused him burial, because he was a heretic: but the French soldiers were so touched by his beauty and gallantry, that, rather than he should lie exposed, they cast a heap of stones over him. Conradin was during the greater part of this time at the court of Louis of Bavaria. The crown of Germany was stoutly contested by two competitors, whom the electoral princes prevailed upon to expend their treasures for the possession of the prize. Alfonso of Castille sent 20,000 silver marks from Spain, and was elected emperor by Treves, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Richard of Cornwall sent an immense sum and secured the votes of Mentz, Cologne, and Bavaria.

Conradin, at the age of sixteen, set out for Italy, at the head of a few thousand men, and was well received by the Ghibeline leaders. He marched unopposed to Rome, where he was welcomed by a procession of beautiful girls; but when he appeared in Lower Italy, he encountered the troops of Charles; who defeated him, and forced him to flee for his life. He was crossing the sea to Pisa, when he was taken captive with his friend and companion Frederick of Austria, by John Frangipani: who delivered him up to Charles for a large sum of money. He was conveyed to Naples, tried, and speedily executed with his friend in the market place. The French were roused to indignation at the injustice of the sentence; Charles, son-in-law to Robert Earl of Flanders, cut down the officer appointed to read aloud the sentence of death, exclaiming, "Wretch! how darest thou condemn such a great and excellent knight?" The young prince threw down his glove, and charged him who raised it to carry it to Peter, king of Aragon, to whom he bequeathed the remnant of his possessions. He fearlessly trod the steps, knelt on the block; and soon the head of the last of the Hohenstaufen rolled on the scaffold. His mother, who had offered a large ransom for his life, devoted the money to the erection of the monastery of Del Carmine in the Tyrol; and a chapel was afterwards raised on the spot where he was executed. Charles put nearly every Ghibeline to death, and exterminated the Moors; Enzo was imprisoned and died in an iron cage; one by one the last scions of the great Frederick perished; and the glory of the race of Hohenstaufen faded like summer flowers before the bleak wind which the ambitious pontiffs had raised.

From the death of Frederick to the accession of Rudolph A.D. 1273, a period of twenty-three years, Germany was without any recognised head. There were many competitors for the crown; but the electoral princes were more anxious to secure their own power and glory, than to promote the welfare of the empire. Not only were the great dukes opposed to each other, but even the minor nobles were contending in the same dukedom, and fostered the factious spirit which, for more than a century had produced such disastrous effects. Ottocar the king of Bohemia, took advantage of these troublous times to extend the limits of the Slavonian state



He bribed the Austrian nobility to accent him as their head, and, with their assistance, marched against the Prussians and the Lithuanians; but distrusting their allegiance, he threw the nobles into prison, and confiscated their lands. Styria was given to Bela king of Hungary to hold in fee; but on the Styrians refusing to acknowledge his authority, Ottocar again placed it under his rule. Carinthia and Carniola also had been bequeathed to him by Ulric; and thus his sway was rendered more powerful than that of the dukes. Nor were the free cities more peaceful than the dominions of the princes. Contests were frequently arising between the bishops and their opposers. In Strasburg and Mentz a spirited struggle was carried on for years; the bishop of the former was expelled, and the houses of the clergy pulled down. In Cologne the archbishop was intent only on his own aggrandisement, and attempted to deprive the citizens of their liberties; but they rose against him, and banished him from the city. He soon after collected a force, and laid siege to it; and after his death, his successor continued the struggle with the citizens. In Liege, Leipzig, Würzburg, and other cities, there were similar contentions, and not unfrequently bloody battles between the bishops and the people. Leaving, however, the details of these petty quarrels to the dark pages of the old chroniclers, we will briefly glance at the state of the empire at the time when the house of Hapsburg rose to the imperial dignity.

The emperor was the recognised head of the empire; and the different grades of authority were mystically represented by seven shields; the first of which was borne by the emperor, the second by the spiritual lords, the third by the temporal princes, the fourth by the counts of the empire, the fifth by the knights, the sixth by the county nobility, the vassals of the princes, and the seventh by the free citizens and peasantry. The emperor enjoyed the right of conferring laws and privileges, and of being the final appeal in all difficult questions. The spiritual lords, the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, had the precedence in the election of the emperor, and in the administration of the empire; but in the fourteenth century there were added to them four temporal princes, and seven electors, which number was afterwards increased by other jealous nobles who rose to power and wealth. The princes ruled as lords over their territory; but the clergy, the counts and knights of the empire, the free cities and free peasantry, were not included among their vassals, though residing within their dominions. The dukes retained their own banners, and summoned their vassals to the field: and some of them acquired the privilege of granting no appeal from their tribunal to the empire. Three courts of justice were appointed; the upper provincial court, over which the count presided; the provincial, over which the sheriff sat; and below them, the old hundred courts, presided over by a bailiff or judge. The latter tried petty offences; the former capital crimes. The judicial proceedings were openly conducted; the evidence was taken verbally, and was still tested by means of the ordeal, and by single combat. The punishment was frequently regulated by the crime; coiners were boiled in kettles,

and heretics burnt alive ; the rack and the gallows dispatched many ; and the punishment of chopping off the hands, putting out the eyes, &c., was commonly adopted. The ingenuity of the Inquisition introduced the exquisite Roman tortures, with which she wrung out the confessions of her victims.

During the reign of the Hohenstaufen, the power and influence of the pope had been rapidly increased. The grand scheme of founding a universal community, ruled by one spiritual head, regulated by one code of laws, and influenced by one motive, had been boldly conceived, and was gradually carried out. Contented at first with claiming spiritual authority, the pontiffs encroached on the temporal authority, creeping with the wiliness of the serpent ; until they were enabled, chiefly by the treachery of the princes, to aim that severe blow at the power of the emperor, when the great Frederick had passed away, and his weak sons were contending for their rights. The supremacy over the German people now really passed to the pope : and those who were adorned with the purple were but his creatures. His authority was supreme, not merely in spiritual things, but in all affairs : he convoked the councils, and presided over them, so that their decrees were but the echo of his will. The bishops were dependent on his nomination and patronage ; and to raise his importance throughout the empire, he granted the right of appealing from inferior courts to Rome, as the final appeal. Soon his legates were dispatched into every part of the empire, who protected the interests of the pope, and administered justice in his name. The right of taxing Christendom was asserted ; simony, which had formerly been condemned by the pontiffs, was now practised ; and the papal treasury overflowed with the riches which resulted from the confiscations of heretics. Monasteries and nunneries sprung up in the most luxuriant spots : and new orders of monks were instituted, who vied with each other in their austerity of life, their licentiousness of conduct, the power of their preaching, or the zeal of their labours. To maintain the authority of the papal power, three spiritual weapons were skilfully employed ; excommunication or exclusion from the church ; the ban of the pope, by which the heretic was outlawed, and his murder declared a duty ; and the interdict, which prohibited the exercise of the church service where the excommunicated dwelt. These weapons were very powerful, because they were assisted by an armed force, unbounded wealth, secret spies, the infernal Inquisition, and great terrestrial possessions. As the church increased in riches and power, her degeneracy was hastened. Her processions and pageants became more gorgeous, her litany and worship more pompons. Fresh saints crowded her calendar ; pilgrims and relics spread through all lands ; and festivals attracted crowds of voluptuaries, by whom the magnificence of the carnival was most applauded. The check which the power of the emperors had placed on the hierarchy, was now removed ; the superstition of the people favoured the purposes of the pope ; their reverence for the supposed sanctity of the clergy made them willing to receive the yoke placed upon them ; and Germany, priest-ridden

and oppressed, continued to groan under the insolent tyranny of the church, until Luther aroused the torpor of his countrymen, shook the foundations of the empire, blasted the pretensions of the pontifical rule, and left the boon of religious freedom as his legacy to his country.

The power possessed by the free cities was a counteracting influence to the authority of the nobles and the pope. At first their privileges were granted to them with reluctance, and consequently the number of free cities was small; but as the ambition of the dukes, and the rapacity of the bishops increased, important cities were presented with their freedom. They possessed the privilege of framing their own laws, which were to be ratified by the emperor, and also the right of adjudicating them. The civic authority reposed in a council, which first consisted of sheriffs and a mayor; but gradually as the presidents of the various guilds were admitted to their share of administering the affairs of the city, the mayor was replaced by the burgomaster or president of the guilds. The city officers were elected annually, and transacted their business in the town hall, the bell of which was the sign of self-government. The constitution of the guilds was simple yet exact; and consisted of three grades, the apprentice, the partner, and the master. The artisan entered as an apprentice, and was obliged to travel for a certain period before he could be qualified as a master; and was required to complete a piece of work, called a master-piece, before he could assume that dignity. The members of the guilds assisted each other in distress, guarded with jealous care the honour of the association, housed the travelling apprentice, and gave him a pass to another city. The princes, bishops, and rich burghers feared the power of the guilds, and strove to disunite them; but without effect. The crusaders had opened up to the merchants, the commerce of the east, led to the introduction of eastern produce, and given a sharp stimulus to commercial enterprise. To protect their trade, many of the cities entered into leagues; the most celebrated of which was the Hanseatic, which in the thirteenth century, embraced the commercial towns on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Baltic; and in the fifteenth was divided into four districts. 1, the Wendian cities including Lübeck, Hamburg &c.; 2, the western, comprising Cologne and various Dutch towns; 3, the Saxon cities, Brunswick, Magdeburg, &c.; 4, the eastern cities, such as Dantzic. Commerce rapidly flourished in the powerful cities; Cologne was the grand dépôt for the whole of the inland trade, beyond which no merchant could ascend nor descend the Rhine; and the Colognese merchants, as early as 1203, possessed the guildhall in London as their dépôt. The lace and cloth manufactures of Flanders were noted over the world, and gave increased splendour to the dresses of the nobility. The Jews were everywhere treated with harshness and indignity, and though permitted to reside in the city, they were compelled to inhabit the narrow streets which were closed at night by iron gates. They were the great pawnbrokers and usurers of that age.

The cities were adorned with magnificent churches, which were

erected in a new style of architecture. The Byzantine and the Roman gave place to the Gothic; whose pointed spires and arches towered towards heaven, and rendered them conspicuous objects. Nothing can exceed the grandeur of the magnificent structures, which the hand of time has spared to our days. The cathedral of Cologne, commenced in 1248, that of Strasburg begun in 1015, and the splendid church of St. Stephens in Vienna, are specimens of the architectural skill of this period; while the richly-carved pillars and decorations, and the statues which adorned them, tell us that sculpture in Germany, though far inferior to the warm imaginative Italian, might have reached a high standard if it had been fostered and cultivated assiduously. The gorgeously-stained windows, which softened the light as it burst in from the east; the pictures of the Saviour, and of the Virgin, and Saints, which formed the background of the altars; and the swelling tones of the organ, and the rich notes of the choristers, remind us that the fine arts were not disregarded at this period. The chivalrous character of the times gave a mighty impulse to poetry. The minesingers, or love-singers, boasted of the talents of Frederick II., Manfred, and Enzo; and the knight errants chanted the lays of their lady love, as they journeyed in search of adventure, or engaged in the tournament to win the admiration of the fair ones.

If the Crusaders accomplished no other object, they gave a stimulus to literature in its various branches. It was no longer confined to monasteries and monks. Noble knights and counts related what they had seen and heard in their marvellous wanderings. Chronicles have come down to our times, some in verse and others in prose, recording the deeds of kings and emperors, the character of illustrious persons, the history of dynasties, and castles, of sieges, and battles. The sciences were cultivated at the universities; Bologna was renowned for law, Salerno for medicine, Paris for theology, and thousands of students from the German cities flocked to these seats of learning. The celebrated traveller Marco Polo led the way of discovery; and Tartary and China were visited by German travellers.

Such was the state of the empire when the pope laid his powerful hand on the throne, and claimed it as his submissive subject. The freedom which had inspired its ancient sons was rapidly expiring; the glory which the Hohenstaufen had procured for it had passed away: the princes, concerned only for their own welfare, forgot how closely it was connected with that of the empire, and welcomed the hierarchical authority, by which henceforth the emperors were to rule, and whose selfish interest they were required to promote.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE PAPAL POWER. A.D. 1273-1411.

## § 1. RUDOLPH OF HAPSBURG.

THE distress and anxiety of the people during the interregnum caused them to be clamorous for an emperor, that they might be protected from the insolence of the princes, and the oppression of the robber-knights who now infested the country. The electoral princes, however, deferred the selection, till they saw the necessity of curbing the ambitious designs of Ottocar of Bohemia; and they directed their attention to Rudolph, the brave and powerful Count of Hapsburg. The fame of this mighty warrior had spread through the land; his services were eagerly sought after by the neighbouring princes, and especially by the free cities, to protect them from the rapacity of their neighbours; and by his courage and skill he had destroyed many of the castles of the robber-knights. A specimen of the strategies he employed in these exploits, may be seen in the manner in which he gained possession of the Castle of Utleberg. Being informed that a number of men mounted on grey horses issued daily from the castle, either for hunting or plundering, he mounted the same number of his own troops on similar horses. On the approach of evening, this party affected to fly towards the castle, as if pursued by a corps from Zurich; and when the deluded garrison threw open the gates to receive their supposed friends, the fort was speedily taken and demolished. The Archbishop of Mentz now gratefully repaid the protection Rudolph had given him in escorting him over the Alps on his way to Rome, by securing for him the votes of the electors of Cologne, and Treves, and by influencing the secular princes in his favour with the prospect of matrimonial alliances with the daughters of Rudolph. Frederick of Hohenzollern, nephew of the Count of Hapsburg, also assisted his uncle; and the electors unanimously raised him to the imperial dignity. He was encamped before the walls of Basle, awaiting the surrender of the place; when one night Frederick entered the camp, and communicated to him the intelligence that he was unanimously chosen king by the electors of Germany. The news soon spread through the besieged city; the inhabitants opened the gates, received him with acclamation, and presented him with a large sum as a donation towards the expenses of his coronation. The prisoners on both sides were exchanged, and the oath of fidelity taken by the citizens. He wrote a letter to the pope, expressing his deep humility, and his willingness to perform what would be most acceptable to the church. He agreed to confirm all the donations of former emperors, to accept no office or dignity in the papal states without the consent of the pope, not to disturb the house of Anjou in the possession of Naples

and Sicily, and to undertake in person a crusade against the infidels. The emperor was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle; and the ceremony was concluded by the marriage of his two daughters, Matilda and Agnes, with Louis of Bavaria, and Albert of Saxony.

Meanwhile Ottocar, who had solicited the crown for himself, but had been refused, was making vast preparations for opposing the authority of Rudolph. He secured to his party the Margrave of Baden, Henry duke of Lower Bavaria, and the Counts of Friburg, Neuburg, and Montfort; and when Rudolph summoned him to do homage for his fief, he refused to appear, and treated his message with contempt. Two ambassadors were sent to him by the diet to demand his acknowledgment of Rudolph, and to restore Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, which he had usurped; but he replied that he would not give up his possessions but with his blood, and put the ambassadors to death. Both parties prepared for war. Ottocar fortified Vienna, reinforced his garrison, collected a vast army; and then imagining himself secure, resigned himself to hunting and pleasure. Rudolph entered into an alliance with Meinhard Count of Tyrol, concluded a treaty with Ladislaus King of Hungary, and summoned the forces of the empire. He marched against Henry of Bavaria, and compelled him to desert the Bohemian alliance; and to gain him to his side, promised the hand of his daughter Hedwige to his son, with a part of Upper Austria for her portion. Henry joined him with 1000 horse; and Rudolph had no sooner entered into the Austrian dominions than the inhabitants received him with joy, and hailed him as their deliverer. He continued his march along the southern bank of the Danube, and soon encamped under the walls of Vienna; where he was joined by Meinhard of Tyrol, who had marched through Styria, and Carinthia, and attracted the natives to his standard. Ottocar aroused by the presence of his foe, drew his troops from Bohemia to save the capital; but forced marches, and want of provisions dispirited the soldiers; the city held out for five weeks, until famine, the threats of the emperor, and despair of succour induced the inhabitants to surrender. Being deserted by some of his nobles, and his troops proving mutinous, Ottocar was compelled to yield; and on the 25th of November, 1276, he crossed the Danube, and signed the treaty, by which he was to give up Austria, Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola; and to hold Bohemia and Bavaria as fiefs; and kneeling down paid homage to the illustrious Count of Hapsburg.

Rudolph fixed his seat at Vienna, which he raised to the dignity of an imperial city; but Ottocar retired to Bohemia, where the pride of his queen Cunegunda aroused his spirit, and led him to break the treaty he had signed. He made great preparations for war, entered into a league with Henry of Bavaria, and drew assistance from the neighbouring tribes. He spread disaffection among the Austrian and Styrian subjects, and then marched his army into the Austrian territory. Rudolph was very indifferently provided with troops; his German allies forsook him; and despondency seized the hearts of those who surrounded him. At length receiving

a small body of troops from Alsace, he resolved to hazard a battle. He marched out of Vienna, crossed the Danube at Hainburg, and was soon after joined by the forces of Styria, Carinthia, and the King of Hungary. The two armies met each other at Marchfield at the dawn of day Aug. 26, 1278. Rudolph led his army in the form of a crescent, aroused its enthusiasm by his eloquent appeal, and then rushed impetuously on the foe. He was singled out by a band of knights, who had been induced by the promise of rewards from Ottocar to kill or take his antagonist; but as they came on one by one they were met and slain by the emperor, till the last pierced his horse's neck, threw him on the ground, and would have taken him prisoner, but for the approach of the commander of the corps of reserves, who cut his way through the enemy, and rescued his royal master. Ottocar fought with the energy of despair, and after his troops were routed, stood alone, and refused to quit the field. He was overpowered, stripped of his armour, and slain by the revenge of some Austrian nobles.

Wenceslaus, the youthful son of Ottocar succeeded his father as King of Bohemia, and received the promise of Judith, daughter of Rudolph in marriage. Austria, Styria, and Carniola were given to the emperor's sons Albert and Rudolph; and Carinthia to Meinhard of Tyrol. The victorious emperor was induced to renounce the imperial possessions in Italy, which had been the cause of so much contention between the emperors and the popes; and thus secured Germany from much internal commotion. He summoned several diets, over which he presided in person; and persuaded the princes not to decide their own differences by the sword, but refer them to arbitration. He enforced most rigorously the laws, prohibiting the erection of fortresses, which had been totally disregarded; condemned to death twenty-nine nobles of the most illustrious families of Thuringia, who had disturbed the public peace; and razed in one year seventy strongholds of banditti, or lawless nobles. He visited all parts of his dominions, conferred charters upon cities and rising towns, and by his activity acquired the surname of *Lex Animata*, or the living law. He was extremely anxious to secure the imperial crown for his son Albert; and summoned the diet of Frankfort, at which he endeavoured to persuade the electors to choose him as his successor. They refused: and as the aged man was proceeding into Austria to visit his son, he found his strength failing, and requested to be taken to Spire; but he died before he reached the last resting-place of his predecessors A.D. 1291 in the seventy-third year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign.

The reign of Rudolph was distinguished by the peace and prosperity which his wise administration secured to the empire. He was tall and thin in his person, his head bald, his countenance pale, his aspect grave though occasionally brightened into animation, and his manners simple and engaging. He was stern and unbending in war, but affable and easy of access at other times; and not unfrequently displayed great magnanimity towards offenders. When the knight who had unhorsed him at the battle of Marchfield was

brought before him to be executed, Rudolph restored him to liberty, saying, "I have been witness to his intrepidity, and should never forgive myself if so courageous a knight were put to death." He gratefully rewarded all who had rendered assistance to him in his early life; was pious and attentive to his religious duties; and respected the humble ministers of religion, while he curbed the rapacity of the bishops, who neglected their spiritual office to secure their temporal power. He raised the German empire to such a state of tranquillity and glory, that he has been called the second restorer of the empire; and if, says an eloquent historian,\* "we consider the situation of Germany when he ascended the throne, and the state in which he left it; the greatness of his actions, and the smallness of his means; his extreme prudence and address; his ardour for military glory, and yet his propensity to peace; his firmness in distress, and what is far more difficult, his moderation in prosperity; his shining talents as a sovereign, and his amiable qualities as a man; we must place Rudolph among the best and greatest princes who ever filled a throne."

## § 2. ADOLPHUS OF NASSAU, AND ALBERT I.

Albert was the only surviving son of Rudolph, and his stern administration in Austria and Styria aroused the opposition of the nobles. They formed a league against him, and invited the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia to aid them; but Albert marched against the insurgents, and defeated their forces. Vienna then broke out into revolt; but the vigilance of Albert enabled him to resist their first encroachments. He occupied a strong position on the Calemberg, invested the city, and caused the inhabitants to surrender. He commanded the magistrates to appear bare-headed and bare-footed with their charters, which he tore into pieces, and thus abrogated their privileges. No sooner was Austria subdued, than Styria revolted; and the subjects entered into a league with Conrad of Salzburg, Otho of Bavaria, Wenceslaus king of Bohemia and Andreas king of Hungary. Albert conciliated the two kings, and marched his troops against the rebels, who were engaged at the siege of Bruck on the Mura. He caused a passage to be cut for his army through the snow on the mountains; and placing himself at their head, rushed unexpectedly on the confederates when the town was on the point of capitulating, captured the camp and baggage, and completely routed them.

Meanwhile Albert fondly cherished the hope of being raised to the imperial dignity; but was destined to be disappointed; for by the intrigues of the archbishop of Mentz, Adolphus of Nassau was accepted on the 10th of May, 1292. Albert resolved to oppose the election; but a powerful league was formed against him in Helvetia, and the state of affairs in Austria induced him to recognise Adolphus as emperor, trusting that circumstances would afterwards transpire

\* Coxe.



to favour his own interests. Adolphus was intent upon securing the aggrandisement of his own family; and by his weakness separated from him his cousin, the archbishop of Mentz, and the electors, and caused his subjects to deride him openly. Albert wisely took advantage of his unpopularity to promote his own designs, and won over to him the archbishop, the King of Bohemia, and the electors of Cologne, Saxony, and Brandenburg. The plan for the deposition of Adolphus was arranged at Prague, during the coronation of Wenceslaus, and afterwards matured at Vienna. A grand diet was assembled at Mentz, at which the electors were present; the charges against the emperor were drawn up and read; and on his refusal to appear and meet them, Adolphus was solemnly deposed, and Albert elected in his stead. Each prepared to defend the imperial dignity by arms; and after a few skirmishes, the two armies met at Gelheim, between Spire and Worms. Albert had armed a chosen body of infantry with a new kind of poignard, and commanded them to strike at the horses of their opponents. The cavalry rushed upon them with terrible fierceness, and were cut down by the firm ranks; Adolphus was dismounted; but seizing another horse, he cut his way to the place where Albert was giving his orders. "Yield" cried he, "your life and your crown." "The event is in the hand of Providence," exclaimed Albert, as he pierced his antagonist with a lance, and threw him to the ground, where he quickly expired. The electors again met, and unanimously chose Albert; and he was soon after crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle A.D. 1298.

Albert sent his ambassadors with rich presents to the pontiff Boniface VIII.; who was exasperated at the electors deposing one emperor, and electing another without his sanction. He then entered into an alliance with Philip the Handsome, king of France, whose sister was affianced to Albert's eldest son, Rudolph; and relying on his assistance, endeavoured to obtain the nomination of this son to the crown as his successor; but the electors refused to make the succession hereditary. Albert claimed possession of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland as imperial fiefs; but his army was attacked by John de Avesdes, count of Hainault to whom they should have reverted, and Albert was at length obliged to confirm him in the possession of them. The haughty pontiff meanwhile stirred up the electors against him; who were enraged by his removing some of the tolls on the Rhine; he refused to acknowledge him as emperor; and released all his subjects from their oath of obedience. Albert, however, quickly defended himself by raising a powerful army; with which, after he had gained the neutrality of Brandenburg, and Saxony, he marched into the Palatinate A.D. 1301, and in less than one year, became master of all the principal fortresses. The archbishop of Mentz was closely besieged, and receiving no support from the pope, surrendered; and his example was speedily followed by the other electors. The pope was reconciled to Albert, removed all doubts respecting his election, and styled him the faithful son of the church; and Albert, on his part, acknowledged the supremacy of the pontiff, and bound himself by an oath to oppose all the enemies of

the holy see. His alliance with France was broken off; Philip was excommunicated by the pope, and his crown given to Albert; who, however, had too much to attend to at home to secure the gift, even if his ambition had prompted him.

The affairs of Bohemia now claimed the attention of the emperor. Wenceslaus, the king, had been rapidly extending his dominions. By the gift of his aunt, he had gained the duchies of Craeow and Sandomir; and soon after he obtained the crown of Poland. Hungary was divided; part supporting Canrobert, who had been invested with the crown as a papal fief by Boniface, and part conferring the dignity on Wenceslaus. Canrobert was driven out of the country; and the pope appealed to Albert to support his influence in Hungary. He joyfully accepted the proposal; and immediately commanded the king to relinquish the crowns of Poland and Hungary; the district of Egra, and Misnia, and the silver mines of Kuttenberg for six years. Wenceslaus refused; and Albert collected a large army, and marched into Bohemia. The stern resistance he met with, and the quick approach of Wenceslaus induced him to break up his camp; and his return the next year was prevented by the death of the king: whose son and successor granted all the demands, and thus purchased peace. When, however, this king died, Albert resolved to transfer Bohemia to his own family. Two claimants for the crown appeared, Henry of Carinthia, and Rudolph; and the State adopted the latter, and crowned him king A.D. 1306. His exactions caused great discontent among the people, which was increased by a band of turbulent nobles; but the death of Rudolph, when besieging a fortress, prevented the horrors of civil war. The proposal to elect Albert's second son, Frederick, met with a haughty refusal; and the emperor, accompanied by his son, led a powerful army into Bohemia, and proclaimed him king. He was soon, however, obliged to return to his own country, where the confederacy of the Swiss cities demanded his attention.

Albert had procured, by purchase and by intrigue, vast possessions in Switzerland, among which were situated some free cities. The inhabitants of three of these especially, Uri, Schweiz, and Unterwalden, were jealous of their liberties, and formed a confederation to assert more powerfully their independence. The emperor summoned them to submit to his authority: but they replied "We are partial to the condition of our forefathers, and only desire the confirmation of our privileges." He placed strong garrisons over them; but on the 13th of Jan. 1308 the people rose and expelled them, ransacked the castles, defied the power of Austria, and commenced a revolution which, after many reverses, was to terminate in the liberty of the whole of Switzerland. Albert set out against them, confident of success; when he met with his death in a very unexpected manner.

His nephew, John, whose possessions he had retained, demanded in vain the restoration of his inheritance. Exasperated by repeated refusals, he formed a plan to assassinate the emperor, and to seize what had been unjustly withheld from him. On arriving at the

river Reuss, four conspirators, each of whom had possessions in John's territory, passed over the stream in a boat, and were followed by Albert with a single attendant. As he rode along, the bridle of his horse was seized; his nephew asked him, "Will you now restore my inheritance," and then wounded him in the neck; and when the remainder of the emperor's attendants came up, they found that he had just expired in the arms of an old woman who had hastened to his assistance, A.D. 1308. The assassins fled; some were delivered up to justice; others wandered as outcasts in foreign lands; and John escaped as a friar to Italy, confessed his guilt to the pope, received absolution, and at length died in a convent at Pisa.

The character of Albert has been variously represented by historians; some depicting it in the darkest colours, and others eulogising it as a prodigy of excellence. His private character appears to have been dignified by those virtues which render the parent beloved, and the man honoured; but as a sovereign he was proud and despotic; fired with the ambition of increasing his possessions, without regarding the character of the means employed to secure it. His reign, however, was beneficial to the empire; he restrained the ambition of the nobles, chastised the insolence of the pope, released his subjects from some very oppressive taxes, and imparted great lustre to all warlike deeds by his own daring, firmness, and activity.

### § 3. HENRY VII. OF LUXEMBURG.

On the death of Albert, there were several competitors for the imperial crown. The King of France claimed it for his son, but the princes dreaded his power; the Hapsburgs also were anxious to secure it, but met with a refusal on the same ground; and ultimately Henry count of Luxemburg received it, whose brother Baldwin, archbishop of Treves, procured for him the votes of the other electors. This wise prince resolved to restore the empire to its extent under the Hohenstaufen; and without embroiling himself with the great vassals at home, bent all his energies towards recovering the Italian possessions. Before, however, he set out, he did his utmost to restore peace and tranquillity to his dominions. Bohemia was in a state of anarchy. Henry of Carinthia, who had seated himself on the throne, had filled every office with Carinthians, drained the country of money, and treated the Bohemians with great severity. They sent ambassadors to the emperor to implore his assistance, and offered the hand of the Princess Elizabeth with the crown to his son John, then fourteen years old. He eagerly embraced the opportunity of securing that kingdom to his family, dispatched an army with John at its head, forced Henry to retire, and proclaimed his son King of Bohemia. The state also summoned the Dukes of Austria to give up to Bohemia the possessions which belonged to it under Ottocar; but Frederick the eldest son of Albert replied to the message, "Tell the emperor that within the space of fifty years, Austria has been the grave of five sovereign princes, and Henry of Luxemburg may be

the sixth, if he dares to trouble us in our legitimate possessions." The summons, however, was merely a stratagem to procure the acknowledgment of John as King of Bohemia by the Austrian dukes; and a treaty was entered into, by which Henry invested them with the dominions of their father, outlawed the murderer, and transferred his inheritance to them; and they recognised John, and resolved to assist Henry in his meditated expedition into Italy.

The murder of Albert was fearfully avenged by his sons. Leopold and Frederick demolished the fortresses of the conspirators, and indiscriminately massacred their retainers and domestics; and above a thousand persons were sacrificed to appease their rage. The widow built a magnificent convent on the spot where the king died, and with her daughter Agnes, retired to spend her remaining days in mourning and weeping. A solemn funeral service was performed at Spire, over the remains of the late emperor; after which they were deposited in the old imperial vault; and the sons of Albert concluded a firm alliance with Henry.

At length the emperor set out for Italy, and Leopold accompanied him at the head of 1500 men at arms, and 200 knights. The Ghibelines flocked to his standard; Milan opened her gates, and the emperor received the iron crown of Lombardy; but soon after the Guelphs raised a conspiracy in that city, by which his life was endangered; when Leopold came to his assistance, and drove the Torriani and other chiefs of the faction out of the city. Henry continued in Upper Italy for the purpose of reducing the whole country to subjection. Brescia surrendered, after being closely besieged by his troops, and Pavia opened her gates, and delivered to him the golden crown which had been lost there by Frederick II. He then turned towards Rome, whose nobility came out to meet him; but aware of Italian perfidy, he cast them into prison, and forced his way into the capital. St. Peter's church was occupied by troops sent by the King of Naples to defend the city; and Henry retired to the Lateran, and was crowned amid the arrows and shouts of the Guelphs. Leopold rendered great service to the emperor on this occasion; who, though he was obliged to retire from Rome, contemplated the entire subjection of Italy, and made great preparations for it. His empress had died at Genoa, and he affianced himself to Catherine, sister of Leopold; but soon after she had crossed the Alps to meet her betrothed, the news reached her of the death of the emperor, who died at Buonconvento in fifty-second year of his age, A.D. 1313.

#### § 4. LOUIS OF BAVARIA.

The death of Henry again opened to the Austrian princes the prospect of gaining the crown, and no effort was spared by them to secure it. The son of the late emperor was rejected on account of his youth, and Frederick obtained promises of support from the princes; but John of Bohemia, aware that if the Austrian duke ascended the throne his crown would be in danger, secured a majority of the votes, and offered the imperial dignity to Louis of Bavaria,

who, however, had previously pledged himself to Frederick not to oppose his election. On the day appointed the two parties assembled; the electors of Mentz, Treves, John of Bohemia, John of Saxe Lauenburg, and Waldemar of Brandenburg chose Louis; while Rudolph of Bavaria, the electors of Cologne, Rudolph of Saxony, and Henry of Carinthia elected Frederick. Louis was received at Frankfort with demonstrations of joy, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle with the usual splendid ceremonies. Frederick being refused an entrance into Frankfort, repaired to Bonn, where he was crowned by the electors of Cologne. Both parties took up arms to defend their rights. Leopold raised a considerable body of troops, defeated Louis at Spire, and desolated the country around. Louis retreated to Bavaria, whither he was followed by the Austrian army; but rallying his troops, he gave battle to his foe, and drove him back to Basle, where Frederick had assembled a diet.

After celebrating their nuptials with Elizabeth of Aragon, and Catherine of Savoy, the princes divided their forces; and while Frederick engaged the attention of Louis, Leopold advanced against the Swiss cities, who had asserted their independence. He assembled 20,000 troops; 4000 of which were to enter Unterwalden, 1000 from Lucerne to make a division by Stantz, while he himself with 15,000 was to penetrate into Schweitz. Two passages alone were open to him; one the pass of Art, inaccessible to armed cavalry; the other the pass of Morgarten, about three miles in length, between the lake Egeri and the heights above. He chose the latter, which was defended by fifty outlaws in front, and about 1400 men assembled on the heights. The army of Leopold came steadily on in proud confidence, but scarcely had they entered the narrow defile, than the fifty rolled down upon the cavalry which led the way, huge blocks of timber and stone; and when the ranks were thrown into confusion, the confederates rushed down from the heights, and charged the enemy with irresistible intrepidity. The utmost disorder prevailed among the Austrians; many of the horses leaped into the lake; others retreated upon the infantry, who were either crushed down by their comrades, hurled into the water, or dispatched by the clubs and pikes of the enemy. The other forces of Leopold shared an ignominious defeat; and the three cantons met in a public assembly, acknowledged with devout gratitude, the power of God which had given them the victory, established a solemn festival, and rendered perpetual their league.

The Austrian princes then united and directed their arms against Louis, and for two years carried on a desolating warfare with various success, by which Germany was ravaged from one extremity to the other. Frederick gained great advantages over his enemy; and Louis would have been obliged to yield had he not received timely support from the King of Bohemia, by which his army was raised to 30,000 foot and 15,000 horse. Leopold collected a considerable force in Helvetia, and was to advance on the side of Germany; while Frederick awaited his approach in Bavaria with an army of 18,000 foot, 4,000 archers, and 7,000 horse, composed of Austrians and

Hungarians. Instead of waiting for his brother, Frederick resolved to attack the imperial troops alone. He adorned himself with a splendid suit of armour, emblazoned with the Austrian eagle, and wore a helmet surrounded with a crown of gold as a mark of distinction to his troops. Louis placed himself close to the imperial standard, and gave the command to Schwepperman, a most consummate general. At the dawn of day the two armies rushed to the attack, and when the shades of evening began to surround them, the struggle, which had hitherto been doubtful, seemed to be in favour of Frederick; when the stratagem of the burgrave of Nuremberg secured the victory to Louis. He detached a party of 400 horse, seized an Austrian standard, and galloped to the flank of the enemy; who, mistaking them for a reinforcement, found out their mistake only when too late. The Austrian ranks were broken; Prince Henry, Frederick's brother, taken prisoner; and Frederick, after defending himself with bravery, at length yielded his sword to the burgrave. Henry was entrusted to the care of the King of Bohemia: and his confinement produced such effects on his spirits, that he soon afterwards died; but Frederick was confined in the fortress of Trausnitz.

Meanwhile Leopold advanced with his troops; but hearing of the defeat and capture of his brother, he retreated towards Alsace; and, after endeavouring to obtain his release by negotiation, exerted his utmost to avenge the defeat. He procured the release of his brother Henry from the King of Bohemia, who was offended at Louis for conferring the margraviate of Brandenburg on his own son, instead of giving it to him as he had promised; and also gained the favour of the pope, who excommunicated Louis for stirring up and aiding the faction of the Ghibelines in Italy, and for refusing to obey his summons to lay down the crown. The interdict of the pope weakened his party, and strengthened Leopold, who collected a large force, ravaged Bavaria, defeated Louis at Burgau, captured his camp and baggage, and had an interview with Charles IV. of France, and the electors of Mentz and Cologne in order to depose the emperor, and elect Charles, whom the pope wished to see on the imperial throne. Louis soon perceived that a reconciliation with the Austrian princes alone could save his crown; and visited Trausnitz for the purpose of arranging a treaty with his prisoner. Frederick was weary of his imprisonment, and agreed to renounce all claim to the throne, to give up all places wrested from the empire, to assist Louis against his adversaries, and to return to captivity if he failed to accomplish the conditions. Frederick was liberated; but all his efforts to persuade his brothers were unavailing. Leopold made preparations for war; the pope dissolved the treaty of Frederick with the emperor, and urged him to assert his claim to the crown; but the noble-minded prince refused to break his oath, and returned to captivity. Louis, struck with admiration at his fidelity, treated him with generosity, and offered him easier terms of reconciliation; and agreed that he and Frederick should reign conjointly with equal rights. Leopold was perfectly satisfied; but no sooner was it made

known than the electoral princes refused to ratify it, and the pope strenuously opposed it. The two, however, agreed to share the administration, and actually entered on the duties jointly; and Leopold was collecting an army to enforce the consent of the electors, when the hopes of Austria were frustrated by his death. Ever since the imprisonment of his brother, Leopold had been silent and melancholy, his active exertions prostrated his body and brought on fever, and he died at Strasburg in a fit of frenzy, A.D. 1326.

Louis, freed from his apprehension of opposition, resumed the sole authority, and purposed invading Italy and avenging himself on the pope. He passed the Alps with a few followers, and was triumphantly received by the Ghiblines, who crowned him king of Lombardy, and supplied him with men and money. He continued his progress through Tuscany, reduced Pisa, pronounced the ban of the empire against Robert king of Naples, and advanced to Rome. He was joyfully acknowledged by the citizens, received the crown in the church of St. Peter, deposed the pope, and elected a loyal Franciscan in his stead. He remained in the eternal city eight months, and experienced the inconstancy of a licentious populace; which when he demanded contributions for his support, manifested great disaffection towards him. Alarmed for his safety, Louis with difficulty quitted the city amid the execrations of the same people, who, but a short time before, had received him with applause; he cut his way through Tuscany, continued a year in Pavia waiting for reinforcements, and at length repaired to Trent, where the news of Frederick's death hastened his return to Germany, lest another competitor for the crown should arise.

On the death of Leopold, Albert the next surviving brother was associated with Frederick in the administration of affairs; and on Henry's death, Otho the youngest claimed part of the inheritance. The brothers refused to listen to his demands; and Otho appealed to the sword, and having obtained succours from Hungary and Bohemia, burst into Austria, and ravaged the country as far as the Danube. Frederick, whose health had been fast failing, was unable to resist the attacks, and yielded to Otho the Swabian possessions of Leopold; and at length died at the castle of Gullenstein A.D. 1330.

The Austrian dominions now fell to the only surviving brothers Albert and Otho, who instead of following the ambitious and warlike designs of their predecessors, were peacefully united in a close compact. Their temperaments however were very different; Albert in his youth was tall, energetic, and of a commanding figure; but in the thirty-second year of his age, he was attacked with paralysis, which greatly retarded his activity; while Otho was fired with such spirits, and hilarity that he obtained the surname of the Jovial. They listened to the overtures of Louis, and drew up a treaty at Hagenau; by which they acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor, and were securely established in the possessions which they had acquired either by conquest, marriage, or purchase.

Three families were now powerful in the empire; the Austrian,

the Bavarian at whose head was the emperor, and that of Luxemburg, with John of Bavaria as chief. As long as Louis was threatened by the Austrian princes, John steadily supported him; but his recent treaty with them separated him from the emperor. He had been appointed by Louis vicar-general of Italy, and by his dissimulation gained many of the cities to him, appealing to the Guelphs in the name of the pope, and to the Ghibelins in the name of the emperor. The suspicion, however, was aroused that he was aspiring to the crown of Lombardy; and the emperor effected a more intimate alliance with Austria, and appointed Otho vicar of Germany in his absence. John hastened home, leaving his son Charles to protect his interest; but having reinforced his troops, he speedily returned to carry on his intrigues with the Italians. He was soon after brought into contact with the emperor, and the Austrian princes respecting Carinthia and the Tyrol.

Henry had left an only daughter Margaret, in whose favour he had procured a decree constituting Carinthia and Tyrol feminine fiefs. The king of Bohemia married her to his son, on condition of receiving these provinces; and the emperor, being then friendly with him, assented to it; but now Louis declared that decree void, and bestowed the territories on the dukes of Austria, who immediately took possession of Carinthia, though they were prevented occupying Tyrol by the turbulence of the nobles. The king prepared to gain these provinces; he formed a powerful confederacy, whose forces burst into the Austrian dominions, and opposed the united army of the emperor and Austria. By some misunderstanding Louis withdrew his troops into Bavaria, and Otho was obliged to come to terms of peace, by which the Austrian princes renounced their claim on Tyrol, and were invested with Carinthia, which henceforth remained a part of their dominions. Otho soon after died leaving two sons, Leopold and Frederick; and Albert was appointed guardian of his nephews with the sole administration of the kingdom.

The marriage of Margaret and prince John took place; but was quickly followed with the disgust of the husband and wife. John confined her in prison, from which she escaped to Louis; who, anxious to extend his family possessions, dissolved her marriage with John, espoused her to his son Louis, and received in her right the Tyrol. The king of Bohemia was aroused by the loss of the province; and though now burdened with the effects of age, and afflicted with blindness, he formed a confederacy among the princes and people, and induced Pope Clement VI. to excommunicate the emperor. The throne was declared vacant; the electors were summoned to Rense; and Charles, eldest son of the king of Bohemia, was chosen emperor. Louis, however, vigorously defended his dignity, and was warmly supported by Austria; he defeated his competitor in many engagements, and prepared to invade Bohemia, where John had taken refuge; when he was suddenly cut off by apoplexy in the vicinity of Munich A.D. 1347.

The reign of Louis is remarkable for the fearful natural convulsions and signs which filled Europe with alarm. In 1337, a vast



comet blazed in the heavens, and for three years after, immense armies of locusts traversed the country, and devoured everything before them. It was looked upon by many as the punishment of heaven for the desecration of the host by the Jews; and a bitter persecution arose against that despised race, which was terminated only by the severe penalties inflicted by Louis on the murderers. In 1348 a great earthquake shook Europe, and devastated vast tracts; villages and towns became heaps of ruins; flaming meteors appeared in the heavens; and the air was thick and pestilential. The terrible scourge called the black death swept over the land; its victims were suddenly covered with black spots like burns; and whole districts were nearly depopulated. The day of judgment was declared to be at hand by a class of enthusiasts named Flagellants, who marched in order through the streets, with white hats and red crosses, lashing themselves furiously, while they doled out their penitential strains. The Jews again were barbarously massacred, and vast numbers fled to Poland, where Casimir granted to them a home and protection. It has henceforth remained a great place of resort for the Jews.

#### § 5. CHARLES IV. OF LUXEMBURG.

The crown now passed to Charles of Luxemburg, who, after a slight opposition from a party of the electors, was unanimously chosen emperor. He showed traces of his Bohemian descent in his person, which was short, dark, and by no means handsome, and which he constantly decorated with the regal robes and the imperial crown. His French manners, however, gave an air of refinement to his actions, and his mind was well stored with the literature of the day. Albert who had warmly supported Louis, now turned to the new emperor, and effected a reconciliation between the houses of Luxemburg and Bavaria. He also procured from him a decree sanctioning the marriage of Louis of Brandenburg with Margaret, and confirming the Tyrol upon him.

Albert was now at liberty to attend to his Swiss dominions, in which his authority had declined. Since the battle of Morgarten, the power and influence of the Swiss had greatly increased; and the surrounding people beheld with rapture their great freedom, and eagerly desired a participation of their privileges. Lucerne was exposed to all the hardships of the Austrian wars; her choice sons were carried off for the army; her commerce was interrupted; and her citizens oppressed with heavy exactions. A party, jealous for liberty, was created in the city; the nobles were expelled; and Lucerne entered into an alliance with the Swiss cities. Zurich also followed her example, and joined the confederacy. Albert at length resolved to maintain his authority among the Swiss. He assembled around him all his nobles and magistrates; summoned the deputies of Zurich to his presence, and commanded them to repair all damages, and indemnify the losses incurred by their rebellion; and on their refusal to comply with his requests, he invested their town with 16,000 men. The Swiss rushed to the defence of their ally; the

negotiation which had commenced with the town was broken off; and these hardy mountaineers, unawed by the imposing number of the Austrian troops, descended with great rapidity upon their foes, and defeated them in several petty engagements. Albert determined to crush these brave men at once by an overwhelming force. He gathered from all parts a gallant army of 30,000 foot and 4,000 horse; and entrusted the command to Everhard of Wirtemberg. The siege of Zurich was carried on with energy; Albert was indefatigable in his exertions; but a scarcity of provisions induced his auxiliaries to retire; the defenders were invincible; and Albert gladly concluded an alliance with the city A.D. 1352.

A dispute soon after arose respecting the alliance of Glarus and Zug with the Swiss Cantons. Before the siege they had been admitted to the confederation, and had rendered important service to Zurich; but in the recent treaty they had promised to render Albert due allegiance. Albert contended that this engagement to him dissolved their alliance; the Swiss, however, affirmed the contrary. The emperor was called in to decide the matter; but his partiality to Austria caused the Swiss to reject his decision; and Charles was enraged at them, and declared their confederacy illegal. The contingents of the empire were summoned; and the emperor led his army before the town of Zurich. The bravery of the inhabitants baffled his purposes; the heterogeneous character of the army soon fostered disunion; a pretext was eagerly seized for the imperial troops to retire; and Albert was left alone to carry on the siege. He now ravaged the country around, and let loose a lawless band of Hungarians; who committed such barbarities, that his friends forced him to accede to terms of peace. He retired to Vienna in disgust and rage; and his son Rudolph who was appointed to his Swabian possessions, concluded an armistice with the Swiss for eleven years. Albert did not long survive the event; and after a reign of twenty-eight years distinguished by wisdom, humanity, and justice, he died A.D. 1358, and was succeeded by his son Rudolph.

The events of the reign of Charles were of a peaceful character, and present nothing very striking. He succeeded by his diplomatic skill in dissolving the alliance between the King of France and the pope; and the celebrated Golden Bull, drawn up A.D. 1356, shows the influence he possessed with his holiness, and also over his own people. This Bull became the fundamental law of the German empire. By it the number of electors was fixed at seven; three ecclesiastical, the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne; and four secular, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg; to each of whom was assigned an office in the imperial household. The rights and privileges of the electors, and the form of election were also defined in it. Charles resolved to go to Rome, and receive the imperial crown. He had delivered to the pope at Avignon the illustrious patriot Rienzi, the last of the tribunes; who was sent back to Rome to favour the designs of the pontiff, by creating

dissensions in the holy city, where he fell by the dagger of an assassin. "The capitol," says Gibbon, "was yet stained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles IV. descended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and imperial crowns. In his passage through Milan, he received the visit, and repaid the flattery of the poet-laureate Petrarch, accepted a medal of Augustus, and promised without a smile to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A false application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the source of the hopes and disappointments of Petrarch, yet he could not overlook the difference of times and character, the immeasurable distance between the first Cæsars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German aristocracy. Instead of restoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himself by a secret treaty with the pope to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation, and his shameful retreat was followed by the reproaches of the patriot bard."

Rudolph was extremely anxious to increase the dominions of the house of Austria. He fixed his royal residence at Vienna, which he adorned with splendid buildings and an university, and enlivened with the gaieties of a magnificent court. He espoused Catherine the daughter of the emperor, and added the Tyrol to his possessions; which Margaret had gratefully bequeathed to him, if her son Meinhard died without issue, because Rudolph had obtained for her his legitimation, and the favour of the pope. Wishing to extend his influence in Italy, he repaired thither to assist in the solemnisation of the marriage of his brother Leopold with Virida daughter of Barnabas Visconti; where he was seized with fever, and died in the twenty-sixth year of his age A.D. 1364. Two princes of the Austrian line alone remained, Albert seventeen, and Leopold fifteen years of age; and, according to the rules established by their father, Albert received the sole administration of affairs, by whom the Tyrol was finally secured by a concession of 116,000 florins, and Kuffstein Kitzbühl, and Scharding. The two princes were, however, very different in their character and talents. Albert was mild and inactive, devoted to religion, literature and science; Leopold was impetuous, aspiring, and fired with military ambition and glory. At first Leopold was intrusted with the Swabian possessions, and shared with his brother the government of the Tyrol; but he soon formed a new compact which confined Albert to Austria, and conferred the remaining possessions on himself. He applied to the emperor for his sanction, which was readily given; and instantly commenced extending his possessions.

He suffered severely from the invasion of Alsace and Helvetia by his cousin Enguerrand de Coucy. This brave warrior had been sent to England, after the battle of Poitiers, as a hostage for the ransom of king John; where he married the daughter of Edward III. After serving the popes in Italy, he collected the bands of mercenaries thrown out of employment by the peace between England and France; and at the head of 40,000 men entered Alsace, and demanded certain lands, to which he conceived he had

some claim. Leopold refused his demands, shut himself up at Brisack, and applied to the Swiss for succour. Some of these mountaineers ventured to attack the marauders; and after ravaging the country, Coucy was obliged to disband his men, and retire to the East; where he was ultimately taken prisoner in a crusade against the Turks.

Leopold was scarcely free from this invasion, when he was involved in a war with Venice. That enterprising republic had risen to the height of her prosperity. Her fleets commanded the Adriatic; her commerce connected her with most of the ports of the Mediterranean; and her wealth, and the wisdom of her statesmen had rendered her powerful among her neighbours. She joined in a league with the Visconti and Carras against the family of Scala, lord of Verona; and received as her portion of the spoil the province of Trevigiano. Louis the king of Hungary claimed Dalmatia, which had placed herself under the protection of Venice; and as his demands were rejected, he marched with a powerful army into that province, and also invaded Trevigiano. By the mediation of the pope, he was induced to retire from the latter country, and Dalmatia was ceded to him. Francis of Carrara was jealous of the power of Venice, and stirred up a conspiracy in the city; which, however, was fortunately discovered, and the proud prince obliged to humble himself. He then made overtures to the Hungarians to assist him against the Venetians, and failing there, applied to Leopold. He joyfully embraced the opportunity of increasing his influence, and entered the province of Trevigiano; but the resistance he met with forced him to retire; and a truce was concluded for three years. Carrara, however, was restless in his designs against the republic, and united Ancona, Genoa, Aquileia, and Hungary in a league. The fleet of Venice was destroyed by that of Genoa; her lagunes were blockaded; her territory overrun by troops; and the city itself reduced to a state of famine. In her distress, she applied to Leopold; and for his services granted to him Trevigiano, into which he instantly marched, and relieved the capital. He was afterwards induced to sell that province to Carrara, and obtained the important port of Trieste; for during the Venetian war, the inhabitants, being dissatisfied with the government of Venice, placed themselves under the sovereignty of Aquileia; but finding the change not more favourable, they offered their submission to Leopold, who promised to respect their privileges, and preserve their municipal government.

While thus the house of Austria was increasing its dominions, Charles was peacefully engaged in the affairs of the empire, mediating between the turbulent princes, and also between the free cities and the aristocracy, between whom many severe contests arose. After a reign of thirty years which was marked by no very striking events, the emperor died at Prague in November 1378. He had gradually improved the internal affairs of Germany. The importance of literature and science led him to found the University of Prague; and his love of art is seen in the splendid edifices he erected in the

city. He invited to his sumptuous court all who were celebrated for learning or skill; fostered agriculture, mining, and manufactures in his family domains; and, in the language of his historian, "Converted Bohemia into a smiling garden." The first mill for the manufacture of gunpowder, which had been recently discovered or proclaimed by the monk Berthold Schwarz, was established at Lubbeck A.D. 1360; and John of Arrau, the celebrated cannon founder, cast his first cannon for the city of Augsburg.

#### § 6. WENCESLAUS AND RUPERT.

Charles had used every endeavour to promote the interest of his family. His eldest son Wenceslaus, who succeeded him, in his second year was created King of Bohemia, at twelve he was invested with Brandenburg, at sixteen he was chosen and crowned King of the Romans A.D. 1376, by the electors, who were bribed by the wealth of the emperor; and two years after, he succeeded his father. His brother Sigismund then received Brandenburg, and ultimately the crown of Hungary; his second brother, Lusatia; and his cousin Jobst, Moravia. Instead of following the dying counsel of his father, "Do honour to everybody who deserves it, be a friend of the pope, the priests, and the Germans," he shut himself up amid the luxuries of his court at Prague, neglected the affairs of the state, and frequently burst out into such fits of rage and frenzy that no one then dared to approach him. He was derided by the Germans, and hated by the Bohemians for his cruelty. He summoned the nobility to meet him at Willanow; when he demanded of them the lands they had received as gifts of the crown. Those who refused to give them up were conducted to a red tent and beheaded; while those who yielded were feasted under a white tent. He also granted permission to his subjects to cancel the debts they had contracted with the Jews; and three thousand of these defenceless creatures were massacred by the mob at Prague. One of his acts of cruelty is seen in the way he treated a monk John Nepomuk, whom he tortured on the rack, and then cast into the river Moldau. He was afterwards canonised as a saint, and became the patron of all the bridges across the stream.

While the emperor was thus wasting his time in rioting and cruelty, Leopold of Austria was disappointed in his endeavours to secure the crown of Poland for his son William. Louis the Great, the late king, had left only two daughters, Maria and Hedwige, to whom he bequeathed the crowns of Hungary and Poland as their dowry. Maria married Sigismund who thus obtained Hungary; and Hedwige was early affianced to William, and had been carefully educated at the court of Louis, and was permitted to reside at Vienna till the death of her father. She was then joyfully received by her subjects, crowned Queen of Poland, and awaited the auspicious moment when she should welcome her husband to the throne. Meanwhile Jaghellon prince of Lithuania sought her hand, flattered the Polish nobles and clergy, and gained the consent of the queen-mother. William hastened to Cracow; but was denied access to

Hedwige; all efforts to procure a meeting of the lovers were frustrated; and soon after the return of the Austrian prince Jaghellon was baptised by the name of Wladislaus, married the princess and ascended the throne.

Wenceslaus granted to Leopold the imperial rights over the free cities in Swabia; but his war in Italy, and his disappointment in Poland brought on depression of spirits, which caused him to neglect his affairs in that province. The petty chiefs exacted large sums from the peasantry, and exercised great tyranny over the people. A confederacy was formed among the cities, in which the principal towns of the Rhine joined; and to strengthen the party, they sought alliance with the Swiss. Leopold was aroused by the defection of his subjects, and immediately prepared for war. He appeased the Swabians by repressing the exactions of the bailiffs, and marched against the Swiss. He resolved to penetrate as far as to Sempach, and make himself master of Lucerne. He advanced to the walls with 4,000 horse, and 1,400 foot, in the hope of surprising the town; but seeing the preparations they had made, he held a council of war to decide whether to wait the arrival of the other forces, or commence the attack. The younger nobles were clamorous for an immediate attack, and overruled the more prudent counsels; and the order to prepare for it was given. The knights dismounted, as the woods around rendered the cavalry useless; and formed a solid body in front. The Swiss, armed with swords and battle-axes, came on in the form of a wedge; but they made no impression on the mailed knights, though sixty of the bravest men fell in the attack. They hesitated for a moment; the ranks of the enemy were fast enclosing their rear; when Arnold de Winkelried, a knight of Unterwalden, rushed from his ranks, seized as many lances as he could grasp, buried them in his bosom, and opened a way through the enemy. The Swiss rushed in; the knights groaned under the weight of their armour, and tottered; the attendants fled with the horses, and thus prevented flight; and six hundred and fifty of the nobility were slain besides a great number of the infantry. Leopold was urgently advised not to expose his person in the fight; but his chivalry and martial ardour brought him into the midst of the contest; and when the banner of Austria was struck down, he rushed to the spot, and waved the blood-stained ensign on high; but seeing all was lost, he threw himself into the thickest of the battle, and nobly perished amid his brave followers. The sons of Leopold continued the war, but with no success; and at length concluded a truce for eighteen months; but it had scarcely terminated before the Austrians marched against Glarus, and were defeated at Naefels with a very great slaughter by the hardy Swiss. At length Austria in 1388 concluded a truce for seven years, which was afterwards prolonged twenty years more.

The proceedings of Wenceslaus greatly enraged his Bohemian subjects against him; a party of nobles seized his person, and transferred him to Wilsberg, a castle in Austria. His younger brother John marched an army to his rescue, and obtained his release; but the emperor had no sooner returned, than a civil war broke out in

Bohemia. Albert sided with the nobles, and invaded the country; he was seized with a fatal disorder, and carried back to his private residence at Laxendorf, near Vienna, where he died A.D. 1395. The Austrians were filled with the greatest grief, and exclaimed "We have lost our friend, our true father;" for his exemplary life, his kind and affable spirit, and his retiring manners, had endeared him to his subjects.

The princes were again aroused by the disgraceful conduct of the emperor; and they resolved to depose him. He was cited to appear before the electors; and on his non-appearance, his deposition was solemnly pronounced by John archbishop of Mentz, A.D. 1400; and Rupert the elector palatine was chosen the next day. Frederick of the Welf family was proclaimed by the Saxons; but on his way to Fritzlar, he was murdered by order of John of Mentz to prevent a schism. The citizens, however, were afraid of Rupert, who was a great favourite with the nobility; and shut their gates against him; but he was nevertheless crowned emperor at Cologne, and received the homage of the state. Wenceslaus remained in Bohemia, and continued to claim the regal dignities; the country was covered with desolation, and torn by faction; and Sigismund king of Hungary took possession of his person, and entrusted the care of him to Albert IV., duke of Austria; by whom he was permitted to escape. Rupert sought to win the favour of the cities by abolishing the tolls of the Rhine; that of Leopold by money; and that of the pope by flattery and specious promises. He resolved on an expedition to Rome, that he might be crowned by Boniface IX. Leopold accompanied him at the head of 1,000 horse; but Rupert was attacked by the Milanese, and defeated; Leopold was taken prisoner, but was released on condition of returning at once to Germany A.D. 1401. Wenceslaus was unable to wrest the crown from Rupert; who held possession of it till he died A.D. 1411, deserted by all his partisans, and despised for his meanness. Bohemia was still the scene of discord; and it was not till Sigismund was elected emperor in 1412 that Wenceslaus relinquished the imperial title, and retired to the castle of Kunratiz, where he died in a fit of apoplexy A.D. 1419.

The state of the German empire at this period was truly deplorable. The influence of the hierarchy was great, chiefly because the power of the emperors was so small. From the election of Clement V. in 1305, for seventy years the popes resided at Avignon, till Gregory XI. in 1376 removed his see to Rome; then at his death, there were two contemporary popes elected at Rome and Avignon; and at the beginning of the fifteenth century another schism was introduced by electing popes at Bologna. The rival pontiffs regarded each other with bitter hatred, and fostered the spirit of dissension through the various grades of ecclesiastics. The bishops were eager for rule and wealth; the clergy were ignorant and careless; the monks lax in their morals, and indolent in their habits; while the people were neglected by their spiritual guides, and exposed to the mighty influence of those who began to investigate the claims of the papacy, and to dare its terrible power by breaking through the

trammels of the church. This lamentable state of ecclesiastical affairs produced its results under Sigismund and the succeeding emperors, and ushered in one of the brightest eras in the history of Germany.

The several states of the empire were in a very wretched condition. Flanders was agitated by a violent commotion; city waging war against city, and inviting the French and the English to assist them; until her power was so crushed that she was annexed to Burgundy, though she still retained her ancient liberties. Hungary had been ravaged by the Turks, and the provinces of Dalmatia and Bosnia torn from her; Bohemia was desolated by the caprice and madness of Wenceslaus; and the house of Austria, which had been so active in extending and consolidating her possessions, now weakened her power by the dissensions of her sons. The emperor Charles IV. predicted the consequences which would arise when Leopold deprived Albert of all but Austria, and said "We have long laboured in vain to humble the house of Austria, and now the dukes of Austria have humbled themselves." The princes contended with each other; the nobles availed themselves of their contests to indulge the spirit of misrule and licentiousness, which had been repressed by the preceding sovereigns; robbers and banditti again infested the highways, and insulted the towns and villages with impunity; and the whole country became a scene of pillage, devastation, and carnage. Amidst this state of discord and ruin, however, there were a few cheering signs which shone forth brilliantly amid the surrounding gloom. A spirit of freedom had been fostered in the Swiss valleys, and had manifested itself in political and religious matters; the bravery of the mountaineers had attracted the attention, and won the admiration of their neighbours; their doctrines had awakened reflection; and the enthusiasm by which they were animated soon spread among the universities, cities, and villages of Germany, and produced that change in public opinion, which prepared it to welcome the reformation began by John Huss, and extended by Martin Luther, and which now exerts such a benign influence in Germany at the present day. To the narration of these events we now proceed.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER. A.D. 1411-1493.

### § 1. SIGISMUND.

SIGISMUND was raised to the imperial throne by the unanimous consent of the electors. He displayed his pride and weakness during his election by saying "No one surpasses me in power, or in the art of governing whether in prosperity or in adversity; therefore as elector of Brandenburg, I give Sigismund king of Hungary my vote,



and thus elect myself emperor." After settling some minor affairs of the empire, he directed his whole attention to the state of the church. It was in a most deplorable condition; three popes arrogated to themselves the title of the vicar of God on earth; the bishops and clergy unblushingly laughed at the crimes they were guilty of, and sought to increase their wealth and power at the expense of an ignorant and superstitious people. The scandal of the pontifical party attracted the attention of the emperor; and he resolved to gather a general European Council, by whose authority the church should be reformed. It was convened at Constance A.D. 1414, and was attended by the great spiritual and temporal powers of Europe. The first act of the council was to request the three popes to resign their tiaras. Gregory XII. submitted, and became a cardinal; John XXIII. a base and profligate man, also laid down his dignity, but afterwards rebelled against the council, and was imprisoned until he had atoned for his crimes. Benedict XII. sternly bade defiance to their authority; and it was not till the emperor went to Spain, and had an interview with Ferdinand of Aragon, that he was deposed.

Frederick of Tyrol, who had warmly supported pope John, and favoured his escape from the investigation of his crimes at Constance, was pronounced by the council under the ban of the empire, stripped of his territories, and declared a traitor to the church and state. The Swiss seized his dominions; and Sigismund replenished his exhausted treasury by alienating the possessions of the House of Hapsburg. Frederick was taken prisoner, and carried to Constance; where the chief princes were gathered to witness the degradation of Austria. Three times he prostrated himself at the emperor's feet; and when he took the oath by which he surrendered to him all his territories, Sigismund turned to the Italian prelates surrounding him, and said, "You well know how powerful the dukes of Austria are; see what a German king can do!" Frederick was detained at Constance as a prisoner, where he was so neglected that sometimes he even wanted the necessaries of life. At length, these indignities roused his spirit; he fled with four attendants into the Tyrol, and once more resumed the government which had been usurped by his brother Ernest during his absence. Sigismund summoned the princes of the empire, and united them in a league against him; and was on the point of seizing the few remaining spoils of the Austrian dominions when he was prevented by Ernest; who appeared with an army at the gates of Constance, and forced him to a reconciliation with Frederick. This weak prince, after vainly striving to remove the sobriquet of "the Pennyless," which his misfortunes had procured for him, by his economy, and the heavy taxes which he imposed on his subjects, died at Innsbruck A.D. 1439.

Meanwhile a very important matter was brought before the council. The writings of Wycliffe in England had found their way to the University of Bohemia, where their sentiments were adopted by one of the professors John Huss, and rapidly spread among the students. For some time the contest between the old and the new

teaching was confined within the walls of the university; but the importance of the reformed doctrines to the people stirred up the zeal of their advocates, and induced them to spread them as widely as possible. A new constitution had just been given to the university, which provided that all foreign votes should be combined into one, and those of the Bohemians tripled; which caused several thousands of foreign professors and students to return to their own countries, and raise up kindred institutions. The influence of these reformatiions was soon seen. Huss was appointed rector of Prague; the Bible was translated into the Bohemian tongue; and the churches began to ring with the denunciations of Huss against the dogmas of the papal hierarchy. His opponents were roused to avenge his attacks, and a general persecution ensued. Huss was cited to Rome, where he refused to appear; but he went to Constance after he had procured a safe conduct from the emperor. He had not been long in the city before a sermon which he preached there afforded his enemies the pretext for seizing him, and casting him into a dungeon. He lay there heavily ironed for a considerable time, and at length appeared before the council. The petitions on his behalf sent by the Bohemian estate were disregarded; Huss undauntedly thanked the emperor for his safe conduct, whose face was instantly suffused with crimson; he attempted to defend his doctrines, but his eloquent tongue was silenced by the rude clamour of the clergy; he was degraded before the whole assembly; and with a tall paper cap on his head, on which were painted three devils, and the words "The arch-heretic," he was led forth to the place of execution, and burnt. His friend Jerome of Prague, was sentenced to undergo the same punishment, which, though wavering at first, he bore with great firmness; and when the man was lighting the pile behind him that he might not see the progress of the flame, he ordered him to set fire to the front, "for," said he, "had I dreaded the fire, I should not have been here."

While the emperor was feasting sumptuously at Paris, with the vain hope of mediating peace between England and France, for which purpose he also visited Henry V. in London, the opinions of Huss, like those of Wycliffe, were widely diffused and strengthened by his death. The council of Constance elected an Italian pope, Martin V., and then broke up; and all the fondly cherished hopes of reform in the doctrines and discipline of the church by means of that august assembly vanished.

Meanwhile Bohemia became the arena of a conflict which every day grew more severe. The Estates were indignant at the violation of the emperor's safe conduct, and ordered the reformer's doctrines to be preached everywhere. Jacob of Mies, a distinguished Hussite preacher demanded for the laity the cup, which, in the sacrament, had been withheld from them; a burning enthusiasm pervaded all classes; and the Hussite doctrines were embraced throughout Bohemia. The pope thundered his anathemas against them, and stirred up the Catholics; who, by an act of cruelty, brought down the vengeance of the reformers. At the court of Wenceslaus, John

of Trocznow, surnamed Ziska, filled the office of chamberlain, and was much beloved by his royal master. Ever since the death of Huss, he was dejected and silent; and when the ex-emperor perceived it and inquired the cause, Ziska replied "What Bohemian can be otherwise than deeply affected when his country is insulted by the infamous execution of Huss and Jerome." The king carelessly answered "What can we do to repair the injury? If thou canst devise any means, go and avenge thy countrymen; thou hast our free permission." Ziska quitted the court, and ingratiated himself into the confidence of the people. As he was proceeding in a procession to St. Stephen's Church, a priest was struck by a stone from the town-house where the magistrates were sitting. The building was instantly stormed, and the chief men thrown out of window, and massacred by the mob beneath.

The aged King Wenceslaus died; and Bohemia was a scene of unmingled distress. Churches were broken open, altars were overturned, property was destroyed, and crowds of fanatics assembled in the open fields, and celebrated the sacrament in both kinds. The widowed queen Sophia assumed the regency, collected what forces she could, and secured the castle and town of Prague; but the Hussites under their brave leaders Ziska and Nicholas of Hussinetz, stormed the castle, and forced the queen to grant a suspension of arms, and to concede liberty of conscience. Ziska retired to Pilsen which he strongly fortified, and collected all the peasantry around, whom he rigorously drilled; and was joined by many nobles and knights who were infected with the enthusiasm of the Hussites.

Sigismund was invited by the Bohemian nobles to take possession of the throne as the next in succession; but he was too much occupied with the affairs of Hungary, and with the Turks who had invaded Styria, to give immediate attention to Bohemia. At length he summoned the nobles to appear; and when the deputies from Praguc were ushered into his presence, he sternly commanded them to return to their city, destroy their barricades, and by no means to interrupt the Catholic clergy. Ziska saw that resistance to Sigismund must be made; his followers took a solemn oath to recognise no king who was not favourable to communion in both kinds; and when the royalist force invested Pilsen, the whole of the confederates burst through it in the dead of night, and retired to a retreat they had formed, called Mount Tabor. This was the top of a steep mountain in the district of Bechin, where the Hussites held their religious meetings; which had been skilfully fortified by their leader, who styled himself "John Ziska of the cup, captain, in the hope of God, of the Taborites." From this place he constantly issued, carrying desolation to the country around, and destroying the fortresses which the royalists had erected. The efforts of Sigismund and his party to reduce the Hussites were unavailing. His troops were constantly defeated; as soon as one place capitulated, another received the enthusiasts; and though he appeared with an army of 100,000 men, and entered the castle of Prague, Ziska erected fortresses in the immediate vicinity by which the city was

rendered impregnable to the emperor. He purchased peace for a short time that he might be crowned; paid his mercenary troops by the sale of the crown jewels, and the spoils of churches; created dissensions among his own subjects; and soon quitted the city, and left the insurgents to themselves. They filled the entire country with discord and distress. Prague was divided into parties who regarded each other with the bitterest jealousy. Bohemia was ravaged by the vain attempts of the emperor to stay the progress of Ziska; who though now blind, marched his troops day and night, defeated the forces sent out to oppose him, and left the impress of his presence in the desolated towns and villages.

Ziska led his troops into Austria and Moravia, and acquired such power that the emperor to appease him offered him the dignity of governor of Bohemia; but before the royal ambassadors reached him, he died of the plague Oct. 12 A.D. 1424. After his death Procopius became the leader of the Taborites; and by his warlike spirit, succeeded in filling the hearts of his enemies with terror. He ravaged Austria; and excited such dread of the Hussite name, that the mere approach of his troops was the signal for the enemy to flee. An imperial army of 130,000 men was sent to crush him; but no sooner did the Hussites approach, than a panic seized the royalists, their ranks were broken, and they fled with trembling haste, leaving their baggage, their standards, and their cannon behind them.

But what the troops of the emperor could not effect, the fanatical spirit of the Hussites at length accomplished. Strife broke out among them, and they separated into various parties; the chief of which were the moderate party, called the Calixtins from *calix* a cup; and the Taborites and Orphans. The former demanded free preaching, communion in both kinds, the secularisation of ecclesiastical property, and amenability of the clergy to law. The other party required the destruction of the papal authority, and the establishment of a new church according to the gospel simplicity.

The emperor resolved if possible to procure peace, and invited the Hussites to send deputies to the council of Basle. Procopius at the head of a vast procession entered that city, and was graciously received by the council. For fifty days the champions eloquently defended their faith; but seeing no prospect of obtaining their object, the Bohemians commenced their homeward journey. The council instantly dispatched its secretary Æneas Sylvius to follow them; and after some hesitation, a compact was drawn up, and signed by the Calixtins, and the nobles. The Taborites refused to agree, and threatened the country with the horrors of a civil war. The Calixtins and the Catholics raised a powerful army, which occupied the old town of Prague; while the other party occupied the new town. Procopius was at this time besieging Pilsen; but hearing that the moderate party had driven out his supporters from Prague, he raised the siege, and marched immediately for that city. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of Prague; and after an obstinate battle, the Taborites were defeated, and Procopius slain;

the prisoners were treated with inhuman cruelty; numbers were sold into slavery; many were driven into barns, where they were burnt alive; and scarcely three hundred escaped the horrible carnage. After a feeble struggle, the remaining Taborites were reduced; and tranquillity, for a time was restored to the country. A diet was convened at Prague in 1435; and Sigismund was acknowledged king, after he had engaged to receive Hussite priests at his court, to ratify the compact entered into with the council of Basle, and to free Bohemia from the papal interdict. Religious freedom was granted to the people, and Tabor raised to the dignity of a royal city. These fair prospects were clouded by the conduct of the emperor; for Sigismund had scarcely entered Prague, before he attempted to reinstate the Catholic religion, and began to use great severity towards the Hussites. The turbulence of the nobles and people, which these events aroused, induced him to relinquish his designs, and to confirm his previous treaty with them.

During these contests, Albert duke of Austria had continued the friend of the emperor, and had assisted him in his struggles with the Turks, and with the Hussites. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sigismund, and was selected by his father-in-law as his successor to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. The empress Barbara endeavoured to exclude her daughter and son-in-law from them, and gained a party among the nobles; but Sigismund arrested her, retired hastily from Prague, under the pretence of the necessity for a change of air, to Znaim in Moravia, summoned the principal nobles of Hungary and Bohemia around him, and presented Albert to them as his successor. He drew up the testament appointing Albert, and sent it to the Bohemian estates by his chancellor Schlick, and then expired in the sixty-third year of his age, A.D. 1437.

His character has been sufficiently delineated by his actions. He was vain, arrogant and deceitful; fond of display and flattery; a devoted admirer of beauty, and a jealous worshipper of Venus. The disastrous results of the Hussite war might have been prevented, had he united energy of character, with uprightness of conduct; his treachery towards the Bohemians only added to the severity of the contest.

## § 2. ALBERT II. OF AUSTRIA.

Albert preceded the funeral procession of Sigismund into Hungary, where he was unanimously chosen king, and inaugurated with the accustomed ceremonies. His chancellor Schlick had meanwhile arrived at Prague, announced to the states the dying request of the late emperor, and advised them to elect Albert as their king. The Catholics accepted the proposal, and acknowledged him in the capital; but the Hussites refused, and held an assembly at Tabor, where they published their dissent. "The election," they said, "ought to be free; we have purchased our liberty with our blood, and will maintain it with our lives. The late emperor violated the compacts, and Albert may follow his example." They dispatched an embassy to Wladislaus requesting his brother Casimir to become their king, and

a body of troops to aid them against Albert. The king sent a troop of horsemen, who joined the Hussites at Mount Tabor. Albert hastened to Prague, and was crowned in the cathedral amid the joyous acclamations of the Catholics; and soon collected an army of 30,000 men, with which he besieged the Hussites and Poles in Tabor. He was forced to raise the siege through the bravery of George Podiebrad, and to retire to Prague; but when the Poles invaded Silesia, they were driven back with great slaughter by the margrave of Brandenburg. A congress was held at Breslau, where a truce was concluded with Wladislaus; the Hussites were propitiated, and peace restored to Bohemia.

Meanwhile the electoral princes raised Albert to the imperial dignity, as a prince able to regulate the affairs of the state, and to defend the empire from its foes. For a long time the dissensions between the free cities and the princes had been increasing; the Hanseatic towns were filled with the strife between the artisans and the merchants; and when in 1427 their fleet was defeated by the Danes, the people in the towns threw all the blame on the nobles, rose against them, and murdered them; and then attacked and defeated the Danish king. Albert summoned a diet at Nuremberg where he introduced many reforms in the administration of justice; and for the purpose of suppressing private wars, and promoting the peace of the empire, he divided the provinces into four circles, which were afterwards extended and improved by Maximilian I. His prudence also preserved Germany from those religious contentions which had excited such a baneful influence on her prosperity. Pope Martin V., a wise, vigorous, and conciliating pontiff was succeeded by Eugenius IV., who, instead of carrying out the reforms contemplated by his predecessor, issued a bull dissolving the council of Basle, where these reforms were being considered, and convoking another in opposition to it. The council of Basle felt its dignity insulted, deposed Eugenius, and elected Amadeus, duke of Savoy who assumed the name of Felix V. Both parties endeavoured to gain the assistance of the emperor; but he wisely refrained from interfering, and simply adopted the regulations which had been formed at Basle for the reformation of the church.

Germany was now alarmed by the appearance of a new class of invaders, who threatened the subjugation of Hungary, and the conquest of Europe. The Turks had rapidly extended their dominions in Asia, and founded a powerful empire in Asia Minor. This was increased by fresh victories; and in 1358 they crossed the Hellespont, and established themselves at Gallipoli, whence they ravaged parts of Europe; till in 1361 the strongest fortress of the Greek empire, Adrianople, fell into their hands. The provinces of Servia, Bulgaria and Bosnia were desolated by the Turks under the Sultan Amurath; whose successor Bajazet planted colonies among the vanquished, and advanced to the frontiers of Hungary. Sigismund had formed a powerful alliance among his princes to check the encroachments of the infidels; but his rashness and pride enabled the Turks to defeat his army, and so completely to destroy it, that Sigismund with great

difficultly escaped the carnage by throwing himself into a boat, and descending the Danube to the Black Sea, where he was picked up by the Venetian fleet. After his death, the Turks under Amurath burst into Servia, and laid siege to Semendria. Albert now king of Hungary was appealed to for assistance; and collecting an army, he marched to the relief of the place; but on his arrival, he had the mortification of witnessing its capture. The Turks were preparing to cross the Danube; but dysentery broke out among them, and forced Amurath to retire. Albert was also seized with the malady, and hastened his return to Vienna. On his arrival at Buda, he was so weak that the physicians advised his remaining there till he was stronger; but he wished to continue his journey, and said "I shall recover if I can only once more behold the walls of Vienna." He rashly partook of some melons, which so increased his disorder, that he died at a small village near Gran Oct. 17, 1439, in the forty-third year of his age. "This great and amiable monarch was tall in stature, strong-limbed, remarkable for his majestic deportment, and the exact symmetry of his person. He was plain in his apparel, affable in his manners, and easy of access. From the darkness of his complexion, and the serious cast of his countenance, he was denominated the Grave; and he obtained the epithet of the Magnanimous from the splendour of his actions, and the grandeur of his mind."

### § 3. FREDERICK III.

On the death of Albert four crowns became vacant. Austria could only be inherited by males; Bohemia, Hungary, and the empire were at the disposal of the electors. The widow of Albert was pregnant at the time of his death, and requested the states to defer the acknowledgment of a successor till her delivery. Austria and Bohemia consented; but Hungary sent ambassadors to Wladislaus, king of Poland, and offered him the crown. The electoral princes first selected Louis, landgrave of Hesse; but on his declining the honour, they unanimously called Frederick duke of Styria to the imperial throne. The birth of Ladislaus Posthumus secured a successor to the throne of Austria, who was placed under the guardianship of Frederick. Wladislaus entered Hungary, which became divided into two parties; one headed by a celebrated general John Hunniades, surnamed Corvinus, who supported Wladislaus; and the other headed by Ulric, Count of Cilli in favour of Ladislaus. The royal infant was carried to Alba Regia, and when only four months old was crowned by the Archbishop of Gran; while the partisans of Wladislaus took up arms to support his dignity, and soon after crowned him at the same place. A civil war broke out, which was hushed for a time by the threatened invasion of the Turks, who were sweeping everything before them with fearful impetuosity. Wladislaus succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, which he enjoyed till his death at the battle of Varna against the Turks; when Ladislaus was unanimously chosen King, A.D. 1444. The crown of Bohemia was more easily secured to him; for after the estates had offered it to Albert duke of Bavaria, and the Emperor

Frederick, both of whom nobly refused it, they chose Ladislaus, and appointed two regents, Praceck as head of the Calixtins, and Meinhard, as chief of the Catholics. The two regents quarrelled; Praceck died, and George Podiebrad was placed at the head of the government, where he exercised almost regal authority. Each country was anxious to possess the person of the young sovereign; deputations were sent from Bohemia to demand their king, and also from Hungary; and on the refusal of Frederick to give up his ward to Hungary, the nobles appointed John Hunniades regent, who regulated the affairs of the kingdom with prudence and great ability. The Austrians were also dissatisfied with the conduct of Frederick, because he detained the young king at Neustadt, and would not allow him even to visit his capital.

Frederick was only nine years old, when his father died, and was placed under the guardianship of his uncle Frederick of Tyrol whom he imitated in his indolence and weakness of character. He was no sooner free from his guardian than he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and returned with pious relics, and honours of knight-hood. At the time of his election to the throne, Germany was in a divided state; the imperial dignity was scarcely anything but a title; the sovereignties, principalities, and petty states were at war with each other; and the only power possessed by the emperor was what the princes chose to allow him. The church was also afflicted by a grievous schism; and nothing but the wise and powerful hand of a monarch could avert the dangers which constantly threatened the land.

One of his first acts was to assemble a diet at Mentz, that the schism of the church might be healed; where an attempt was made to reconcile the councils of Basle and Florence, and the two popes, Eugenius and Felix. This gave great dissatisfaction to both parties. Felix tried to gain Frederick to his side, by the offer of his beautiful daughter Margaret in marriage; but the emperor secretly favoured Eugenius, as he wished to be crowned at Rome, and dispatched his secretary, Æneas Sylvius, thither, under the pretence of gaining the pope's acquiescence in the wishes of the German nation. Eugenius refused to consent to the propositions of the diet; and deposed the electors of Treves and Cologne, who had distinguished themselves at the council of Basle. This excited the indignation of the German nation; a solemn diet was called at Frankfort, where it was resolved not to submit to Eugenius, till the supremacy of a general council was acknowledged, and the decrees of Basle approved by him. The mediation of Frederick was called in; Æneas Sylvius bribed the Archbishop of Mentz, the elector of Brandenburg, and the chief of the clergy; the emperor persuaded them to send an ambassage to Rome; and the crafty secretary induced the pope to accept the modified decrees of the council. His successor pope Nicholas V. with the connivance of Frederick, still further modified the decrees which were most detrimental to the interest of the Roman see, and published the celebrated concordat, which the princes signed, and by which all hope of reform in the church was banished. Felix was induced to



resign his dignity; and Nicholas was confirmed on the pontifical throne, A.D. 1448.

The troubles which sprang up in his patrimonial possessions, prevented Frederick receiving the imperial crown till two years after his election, when he was crowned at Aix la Chapelle on the 15th of June 1442; and repaired to Frankfort to establish regulations for the proper administration of the empire. He resolved to avail himself of the dissensions among the Swiss, to recover the dominions which had been wrested from the house of Austria. Zurich applied to him for aid against the confederation, and offered to restore to him Kyburg; and Frederick hastened thither, passed through his possessions, and received the oath of obedience from his subjects; and soon after despatched a body of Austrians to assist Zurich in her wars.

As his affairs in Hungary and Bohemia demanded his attention, and the states of Germany refused to assist him in his private wars, Frederick solicited from the King of France a body of mercenaries to aid Zurich. An army of 30,000 men, called Armagnacs from their original leader, hastened into the territory, led by the Dauphin. They met a body of 1600 Swiss in the neighbourhood of Basle; who charged them with such impetuosity, that they drove the mercenaries to Muttentz, and continued their rapid onsets till they forced them across the Birs. The brave Swiss followed, but were cut down by the Austrian cavalry and the French; five hundred escaped to the hospital of St. James, where they heroically perished; and the sixteen, who alone returned to the confederation, were branded by their countrymen for deserting the field of battle. The French were fearfully cut down; six thousand of the finest warriors were slain; the Dauphin refused to sacrifice any more of his troops for the interest of Austria; and in order to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war, he overran the Austrian dominions, and committed fearful ravages. Frederick resolved to avenge these indignities, and summoned a diet at Nuremberg; Germany declared war against France, and voted an army; but the outbreak of hostilities was prevented by the Dauphin quietly retiring from the country. The broils of the Swiss, however, continued; the Austrians gained a few slight advantages; and at length the treaty was drawn up in 1449, by which both parties were placed in the same position as they occupied before the war.

During these events the emperor had negotiated a marriage with Eleonora, daughter of the king of Portugal; and was extremely anxious to proceed to Rome that he might be crowned by the pope. Italy was at this time disturbed by a contest for the duchy of Milan. On the death of Philip Maria, the last of the Visconti, several competitors for the crown appeared, and the country became a scene of dreadful commotion and bloodshed. Francis Sforza had succeeded his father as the commander of a celebrated band of mercenaries, and by his skill and prowess had made his name respected, and his arms successful. His services were eagerly purchased; and by his assistance victory was frequently brought first to one side and then

to the other. He was warmly supported, and openly acknowledged by the populace of Milan; and in 1450 was raised to the dignity of the throne. Frederick set out from Gratz at the close of 1451 accompanied by his ward Ladislaus, his brother Albert, and a numerous train of followers. Sforza offered to receive from him Milan as an imperial fief; but Frederick refused to stay, and passed on in his journey, sometimes receiving the adulation, and sometimes meeting with the contempt of the people. As he passed through the streets of Viterbo, a tumult arose; the populace attempted to strip him of his gold and jewels; and it was not till the emperor and his retinue charged the crowd, and drew their swords, that the people dispersed. The college of cardinals came out to meet him at Rome and to conduct him to the city with great state; and to gratify the pride of the pontiff, Frederick and all his suite submitted to kiss the hand and foot of the pope, as he sat on an ivory throne, surrounded by the greatest ecclesiastical splendour. On the 16th of March 1452, he was crowned by the pope king of Lombardy; and on the 19th, he received the imperial crown, and the hand of his bride. He took an oath of submission to the pope; knighted Ladislaus, his brother, and three hundred persons on the bridge of the Tiber; and repaired to the court of Alphonso, king of Naples; where he passed his time in festivity, till the affairs of his dominions called him home.

Frederick having secured the imperial crown, exalted his family by procuring the archducal dignity, which had been assumed by Rudolph IV. in consequence of a grant made by Frederick I. to the Austrian dukes of the Bamberg line, but which it appears he afterwards relinquished. By virtue of this title, great privileges were conferred on the Austrian sons. The archdukes were declared by birth privy councillors of the emperor, their territories were incapable of being put under the ban of the empire, and attempts against their person were considered high treason. They were freed from the necessity of attending diets, from contributions and public charges; empowered to levy taxes, create counts, barons &c., and in failure of heirs, to dispose of their own lands by will.

When Frederick returned from Italy, he left the young prince Ladislaus under the care of the pope and Æneas Sylvius, from whom he received a refined and learned education, which, however desirable, by no means fitted him to govern the rude and turbulent subjects under his sway. Deputies were sent from Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary to the young king, to prevail on him to escape; but the plan was discovered and prevented by the pope. On the arrival of the emperor from Italy, the principal nobles once more solicited him to give up his ward; and on his refusal, they sent Ulric Eytzinger, an Austrian with 16,000 men to besiege Neustadt. Frederick, unable to resist, resigned Ladislaus to the care of his uncle, the count of Cilli, until the deputies could make arrangements for the government of the kingdoms. Ladislaus repaired to Vienna, amid the rejoicings of the people; and in the assembly there it was agreed that, during his minority, the young king should remain under the

care of the count of Cilli, Hungary be governed by John Hunniades, Bohemia by George Podiebrad, and Austria by Cilli A.D. 1452.

The court of Ladislaus soon became a scene of discord. Cilli gained great influence over the young king, and removed Eytzinger and the Austrian nobles from posts of influence, and filled them with his own creatures; while he inspired the king with suspicion and jealousy towards the regents of Hungary and Bohemia. The nobles were aroused; Eytzinger remonstrated with the king on the folly of his favourite, and with an armed force caused him to remove the count; and he fled from Vienna amid the insults of the populace. Ladislaus then proceeded into Bohemia; where he was met by the chief nobles, conducted in state to Prague, and was crowned king in Oct. 1453. His religious prejudices, however, weakened his influence in this kingdom. He treated the Catholics with respect and affection, but showed by many acts his strong aversion to the Calixtins. He would not enter their churches, turned away whenever mass was performed by one of their priests, refused to make any religious concession to them, and declared that he would follow alone the decisions of the pope.

Meanwhile the government of Eytzinger in Vienna became extremely unpopular; and Ladislaus embraced the opportunity of reinstating his favourite Cilli. Hungary was growing discontented, and requested the presence of her king; but Cilli, fearful of a fresh disgrace, persuaded the king not to undertake the journey, and represented Hunniades as a powerful and ambitious man, grasping at the crown. The king attempted to gain possession of the regent; but his plan failed; and at length he repaired to Buda, and was fully reconciled to Hunniades.

An occasion soon presented itself when the powerful assistance of the regent of Hungary was gratefully accepted. The Turks since the battle of Varna, had rapidly gained the ascendancy over the Greeks; the tottering throne of the eastern empire was upheld for a time by the bravery and wisdom of Constantine; until Mohammed II. directed all his efforts to the capture of Constantinople, and surrounded the city with his troops. The efforts of the emperor to arouse his degenerate people were unavailing; a band of 9,000 men was all the force he could boast of, with which he defended the walls with heroic bravery; but the impetuous storming of the Turks was irresistible, and Constantine fell nobly amid the ruins of his city A.D. 1453. The Sultan fixed his throne at Constantinople; and then directed his attention to Hungary. Albania was quickly subdued; but advancing into Servia, his progress was checked by Hunniades, who during the absence of the Sultan defeated his troops. Mohammed next year collected 200,000 men, and laid siege to Belgrade. Hungary trembled at the presence of such a terrible host; the emperor Frederick was buried in his botanical studies, from which even the sound of war could not arouse him; and a general crusade was fervently preached by John Capistran, a monk, who collected 40,000 of the peasantry, armed with sticks and flails, against the infidels. All hope was centered on Hunniades. He disciplined the rabble as

quickly as he was able; and placing himself at the head of a corps of Hungarians, marched to the relief of Belgrade. The fortress was reduced to the last extremity; the walls were battered by cannon; the garrison worn out with fatigue; their provisions cut off by the flotilla in the Danube. Hunniades collected a few barks, destroyed the enemy's flotilla, and entered the fortress. A general assault was made by the Turks, and for a time the crescent waved on the ramparts; but the Hungarians rushed upon the invaders, turned their cannon against them, and drove them back with very great slaughter. The joy which was awakened by this victory was soon turned into grief at the death of Hunniades, who expired shortly after of a fever A.D. 1455.

Ladislaus and Cilli were by no means sorrowful at the removal of such a powerful rival as the late regent had been, and ungraciously resolved to manifest their ill-will towards the father by persecuting his sons. Cilli endeavoured to get possession of the eldest; and meeting with him one day by accident, he drew his sword, and would have run him through; but he was overpowered and killed by the son of Hunniades, who was afterwards beheaded by the king in revenge for the loss of his favourite. The second son Matthias, was imprisoned; his widowed mother assembled an army, and threatened to give up the frontier fortresses to the Turks, if her son was not immediately restored. The death of Ladislaus threw open the gates of the dungeon; he died suddenly in the midst of his marriage ceremonies at Prague in the eighteenth year of his age A.D. 1458.

The death of the king of Hungary opened to Frederick the prospect of securing his dominions to himself; but he possessed neither the energy, nor the ability necessary to obtain them. Austria was claimed by him as his right; but the opposition was so violent that it was finally settled that he should receive Lower Austria, his brother Albert Upper Austria, and his nephew Sigismund the part of Carinthia adjoining the Tyrol; and that Vienna should be the joint residence of the three princes. The nobles of Bohemia unanimously rejected Frederick, and raised George Podiebrad to the throne; and when the emperor claimed the crown of Hungary, his claim was refused, and Matthias Corvinus received the dignity. Frederick sent an army of five thousand men to obtain the crown by force; but deserted by his allies, and despised by the nobles, he relinquished his pretensions to the throne on receiving a sum of money.

In Austria the emperor experienced similar misfortunes. The nobles and citizens manifested their discontent at him, which was festered by Albert, and at length broke out in a civil war. Frederick appeared at the gates of Vienna with a body of horse, for the protection of the empress and his son Maximilian, who were in the citadel; and after three days' intreaty he was admitted to the city. A rebellion soon broke out; the people flew to arms; and the emperor was forced to fly to the citadel, where he was closely besieged by his brother Albert. Here for once in his life he

displayed great firmness and resolution. He declared that rather than submit, the citadel should bury him; and he doubtless would have held out to the last, had he not been rescued from his perilous situation by the king of Hungary, who marched to his relief at the head of 13,000 men. A treaty was drawn up favourable to Albert, but his rapacity was not satisfied; and the country would have been plunged into a desolating war, had not Albert died suddenly while preparing for hostilities A.D. 1463.

While Frederick was contending with his brother in Austria, he was involved in a severe contest with the empire, and threatened with the loss of the imperial crown. Louis, the elector Palatine died in 1449, and left an infant son Philip to the guardianship of his brother Frederick; who persuaded the electoral princes, and the widow to invest him with the electoral dignity, on condition that he adopted Philip as his heir. The emperor refused to give his consent, and thus incurred the resentment of a powerful and warlike prince. At first the elector manifested his opposition to Frederick by assisting his relative Louis of Bavaria to gain possession of Donawerth, an imperial city; but foiled in this, he formed a league among the electors of Treves and Mentz, Albert, Sigismund, and other princes to depose the emperor, and to offer the crown to George Podiebrad. Frederick was aroused to a sense of his danger, concluded an alliance with the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, and gained the influence of pope Pius II., who embraced the opportunity afforded by the vacancy of the see of Mentz to strengthen the emperor's party. Two candidates appeared for the see, Adolphus of Nassau and Dietrich of Isenburg. The latter was chosen because of the concessions made by his ambassadors; but when he entered on his dignity, he disavowed the actions of his ambassadors, and was deposed by the pope; who then elected Adolphus in his stead. The elector took up arms to support Dietrich; and the emperor formed a confederacy among the princes in favour of Adolphus. The royal troops burst into the Palatinate, and devastated the country; and to destroy more thoroughly the corn, Ulric of Wurtemberg, and Charles of Baden tied branches of trees to their horses' tails, and rode through the country. The confederates, however, were defeated in a bloody battle at Leckingen, and Ulric, Charles, and Adolphus made prisoners by the Count Palatine, while the duke of Bavaria defeated Albert of Brandenburg, and captured the imperial standard. The elector, anxious to secure the confirmation of his brother as archbishop of Cologne by the pope, concluded a peace, and extorted large ransoms from his illustrious captives; and the duke of Bavaria followed the example of his relative, renounced his claim to Donawerth, and likewise sued for peace.

Germany was constantly threatened by the Turks, against whom scarcely any precautions were taken. The German princes were at enmity with each other, and fully occupied with their own quarrels; the emperor and the pope had often solicited a crusade against the infidels, and supplies of men and money from the diet; yet they

employed the succours more to enrich themselves than to oppose the invaders. Frederick even regarded with satisfaction the approach of the Turks as a check to the King of Hungary; and when the King of Bohemia proposed to the diet to head an army against them, the pope urged that it would be far better for them to turn their arms against the heretical king himself, than against the Moslems. The Turks, thus unopposed, continued their ravages, swept over Servia and Bosnia, entered Carniola and Carinthia, destroyed the villages and towns, and either slew or carried captive the inhabitants. Frederick was at his country residence at Lintz, absorbed in the pursuit of horticulture, and "seemed more anxious to shield his plants from the frost, than to defend his dominions against these barbarous invaders." His subjects, however, rose and drove them back; but in 1473 they returned to Carinthia, and carried off 20,000 prisoners; and in 1475 penetrated nearly to Salzburg. "The situation of the country may easily be imagined which, during the reign of Frederick, and in the short period of only twenty-seven years, was twelve times visited by so dreadful a scourge, and twelve times marked by similar scenes of devastation, carnage, and horror."

Although Frederick had received such aid from George Podiebrad in his troubles, he was base enough to join the pope in an attempt to dethrone that king. The religious disputes, which had been settled by the concordat, now burst out again in their full fury; the Calixtins and the Catholics regarded each other with the bitterest hatred; and pope Pius II. refused to ratify the compact of the council of Basle, and commissioned his legate to forbid communion in both kinds. George imprisoned the insolent legate, and aroused the indignation of the pope, who would have excommunicated him, but for the timely mediation of Frederick. The successor to the papal throne, Paul II., renewed the persecution, and persuaded the emperor to allow a crusade to be preached throughout Germany against the heretical king. Podiebrad bitterly inveighed against the ingratitude of Frederick, declared war against him, and filled Austria with desolation. Matthias was induced by the emperor to attack Bohemia; but the vigour of George enabled him to resist all his foes, and to force a treaty of peace. Matthias broke this, and again entered Moravia and Silesia; and summoning a mock diet at Olmütz, was elected King of Bohemia. Frederick, however, disappointed him in his supplies; George wisely favoured both the Catholics and the Calixtins by naming as his successor Wladislaus, son of Casimir king of Poland; the unaided efforts of the King of Hungary were unavailing; and both parties weary of the strife, concluded a peace A.D. 1470.

On the death of Podiebrad, the crown passed to Wladislaus. Matthias was occupied with the Turks then; but he embraced the first opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on the emperor, for his perfidy towards him. He had deserted him in war, had broken his promises of investing him with Bohemia, had refused to give him his daughter Cunegunda, and fomented the internal dissensions of

Hungary. Austria was instantly invaded; the towns and fortresses of the Danube fell into his hands; and Frederick fled to Lintz, and to save his capital, agreed to the most humiliating terms. These were violated before the close of the year, and Austria was again involved in a fierce struggle with Matthias; the favourite residence of the emperor, Neustadt, was captured; and Frederick roved from city to city, and from convent to convent like a vagrant, seeking assistance but finding none. Albert duke of Saxony was induced to come to his rescue; but the promises of Frederick to render him support were violated; and he concluded a treaty with the belligerents, by which Matthias was permitted to retain possession of the conquered territories till Frederick could fulfil his previous engagement to pay one hundred thousand ducats, and defray the expenses of the war.

These losses, however, were fully recompensed by the success which crowned his endeavours to secure the hand of Mary of Burgundy to his son Maximilian. Charles the Bold was extremely anxious to gain the title of King of Burgundy, and applied to Frederick for his assistance, promising his daughter Mary to his son, and the reversion of the duchy at his death. Frederick eagerly listened to the proposal, and repaired with his son to Treves, where he met Charles; and the young prince, then in his fourteenth year, was affianced to Mary. Frederick, however, suddenly disappeared from the city, urging that his presence was required at Cologne; but the truth was that the two sovereigns had no confidence in each other; Charles was unwilling to dispose of his daughter, and Frederick resolved not to confer the regal title till the nuptials had been celebrated. Charles was exasperated by his disappointment, and invaded the archbishopric of Cologne; but the presence of a large army with Frederick induced him to retire. Louis XI. king of France, who had also solicited the hand of Mary for his son, formed a combination among the Swiss against Burgundy, into which the emperor entered; and for four years the Burgundian war raged with vigour, and various success. Frederick, with his usual perfidy, left the Swiss to their fate, and held a private interview with Charles; who agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the pope. After the death of Charles, at the battle of Nancy A.D. 1477, Louis took possession of Burgundy, and urged the suit of his son to the hand of the princess. Frederick dispatched the electors of Mentz and Treves, the Duke of Bavaria, and other princes to solicit the fair princess for Maximilian; and Mary astonished the assembled court by warmly welcoming them, by receiving from them the trinkets which she had formerly sent as tokens of her affection, and by declaring her resolution to give her hand to the noble prince. Maximilian hastened to Ghent; and, mounted on a brown steed, clad in silver-gilt armour, and crowned with a bridal wreath, which was resplendent with pearls, he rode into the city to meet his bride, who received him with open arms, and said, "Welcome art thou to me thou noble German, whom I have so long desired, and now behold with delight." Frederick then conferred on his son the dignity of

Archduke of Austria, which his successors have ever since borne. Maximilian vigorously opposed the encroachments of the King of France, and deprived him of the territory he had seized in the Netherlands. While engaged in quelling the turbulent spirit of Flanders, the young prince had the misfortune to lose his wife, who was thrown from her horse while hunting, and died in consequence, leaving a son named Philip and a daughter Margaret. Disputes soon arose respecting the guardianship of the royal children; and the treaty of Arras was drawn up on the 23rd of December, 1482, by which Margaret was affianced to the Dauphin of France, and was to be educated at Paris; and Philip to be under the guardianship of the Flemish states.

Though Frederick also gained another advantage for his son by procuring his election as King of the Romans, and the reversion of the imperial crown to him, Maximilian continued to experience great troubles in Flanders. The people regarded him with the greatest jealousy; and he severely felt the rigorous treaty which deprived him of all share in the government of Flanders, and the education of his children. He gathered a considerable body of troops, made himself master of the principal towns, and forced the Flemings to acknowledge his authority, and to restore his son Philip. He then turned to France, formed an alliance with the Dukes of Orleans and Brittany, and burst into Picardy with 12,000 men. His enterprise, however, was unsuccessful. His army was defeated; Brittany was overrun by French troops; the discontented nobles were kept in awe; and rebellion was fostered among the Flemish towns. His foreign garrisons, his German marauders, and his frequent levies created great dissatisfaction; Ghent was distracted with the turbulence of the people; the citizens of Bruges demanded the presence of Maximilian, and when he appeared, detained him a close prisoner, beheaded some of his ministers, and tortured others. Frederick beheld with alarm the situation of his son, collected troops from all parts of the empire, and at the head of 15,000 men penetrated to Brabant. The Flemings were terrified at the rapid advances of the emperor, and hastily drew up a treaty, which required Maximilian to renew the compact of Arras, to surrender all the fortresses, and withdraw all the foreign troops from the country. Maximilian signed this, and was liberated; and without displaying any anger or vindictive feelings, he left the city under an escort with the Duke of Bavaria. Frederick dissolved the oath taken by his son, and left an army under the Duke of Saxony to carry on the war; which he did with such energy, that when Maximilian returned to the Netherlands in 1493, the duke led his two children to him, saying "God has granted to me success; therefore I bring you these two children, and an obedient hand."

Frederick was anxious to gain possession of his Austrian dominions without paying the sum stipulated in the late treaty; and Maximilian was about to open negotiations with the King of Hungary, when Matthias suddenly died, and his successor Wladislaus ceded all the Austrian territories taken by the late king, and in the event of having



no male issue, conferred on him the succession to his dominions A.D. 1490.

Meanwhile Maximilian indulged the hope of gaining the important province of Brittany by marrying Anne the rich heiress. Several suitors appeared for her hand; but Maximilian was the most favoured; and by the influence of the prince of Orange, the arrangements were concluded, and the princess accepted the offer of the archduke. His hopes, however, were blasted by the intrigues of the French king. France had long desired the duchy; and in the time of the late duke, had entered the country, and dissolved the alliance with Maximilian. On the death of Louis, the youthful Charles VIII. invaded the province and laid siege to Nantes. The nobles were unable to defend their country, and the duchess applied to England and Maximilian for aid. Henry VII. sent sixteen thousand English to her assistance; but they arrived too late; and the son of Frederick could not obtain supplies. Anne held out to the last; but her generals betrayed her, her counsellors were urgent for peace; and at length a treaty was drawn up, by which Charles agreed to evacuate Brittany, and give the duchess a safe conduct to Germany, if she wished to proceed thither. Instead of repairing to Maximilian, she sought the King of France, was united in marriage to him, and annexed the duchy of Brittany to the crown. Maximilian was justly indignant at the conduct of France; his own daughter Margaret was thus insulted, after she had been presented to France as a queen for seven years; and he himself was robbed of the duchy, and his beautiful bride. He vowed vengeance against the perfidious monarch, and sought assistance from the diet, the Swiss, and England. The English alone aided him with a considerable army, which was sent to Calais; but it was afterwards bribed by the king to retire; and Maximilian, deserted by his allies, and embarrassed at home, signed a treaty at Senlis; his daughter was restored; and an indemnification granted to him for the loss of Brittany.

The days of Frederick were fast drawing to a close. The last public act of his life was to receive Albert of Saxony, who had espoused his daughter without his consent, and against whom he had marched with a great army; but Maximilian stepped in between the belligerents, and effected a reconciliation. The emperor resigned the administration of affairs to his son, and retired to Lintz where the remainder of his days was peacefully passed amid his various studies. He had for a long time been afflicted with an ulcer in his leg; caused, it is said, by the practice of kicking open every door he found closed; and it was deemed necessary to amputate his limb. He bore the painful operation with his accustomed *sang-froid*, and exclaimed "Is not a sound peasant greater than a sick emperor." He was rapidly progressing, when a rigid fast, and an inordinate use of melons brought on dysentery, of which he died on the 19th of August 1493 in the seventy-eighth year of his age after a reign of fifty-three years.

The character of Frederick is justly described by the epithet which was applied to him, "The Pacific." He was tall in his person;

majestic in his appearance; and handsome in his countenance. His ordinary costume was extremely plain; but on occasions of state, he decorated himself with all the magnificence his royal wardrobe could furnish. He was extremely temperate and abstemious in his habits, and practised the most rigid economy; which indeed his slender revenues demanded. Though affable and kind in his social relations, he was indolent, reserved, cold, and indecisive in his public career, and neglected the most important affairs of the state that he might bury himself in his horticultural pursuits, or in studies of a darker and more mysterious nature. He was faithless to his friends and his enemies; easily persuaded to forget the benefits conferred on him; and though anxious to promote his family interests, was too indolent and weak to take the necessary steps. He was profoundly versed in the occult sciences; alchemy and astrology engaged his solitary hours; and the study of heraldry and antiquities delighted his heart. He formed a curious device consisting of the five vowels, a, e, i, o, u, which he imprinted on his books, his buildings, and his ornaments; and which after his death was found thus explained by him:—"Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo." Austria is to govern the whole world. The character of Frederick would have adorned a private life; but it unfitted him for his position as emperor of Germany at that important epoch of the world's history. The most striking events of that period transpired without his interference. Constantinople had fallen to the Turks; France had defeated the English, and annexed Brittany to her empire; Burgundy passed away from the dignity of a state; the literature of the East was dispersed over Europe; universities flourished; discoveries were promoted; and enterprise was fostered. A new æra was dawning on the world; the middle ages which began in ignorance, in anarchy and confusion, were receding; a clear and beautiful light was about to break over Europe; the disorders and errors of the past were to be rectified; and the steady march of knowledge, freedom, and progress commence its onward career. To the delineation of the events of modern history we now pass.

## PART III.

### MODERN HISTORY.

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#### CHAPTER I.

MAXIMILIAN I. A.D. 1493-1519.

THE reign of Maximilian forms a distinct epoch in the history of the German empire, and especially of the house of Austria, whose power and influence were greatly extended by his wisdom and energy. It will, therefore, throw an additional light upon the events of his, and of succeeding reigns, if we take a brief survey of the state of Europe at the time when the son of Frederick came to the throne.

France had been rapidly rising under the wise administration of her sovereigns; the English had been expelled from all their dominions except Calais; and the young and ambitious Charles VIII. was preparing to win fresh laurels by asserting his claim to the crown of Naples. The treatment Maximilian had received from the French king, in the affairs of Brittany, and the proximity of their dominions awakened that bitter jealousy between the two sovereigns, which has ever since characterised these nations. England had been fiercely torn by the war of the roses, and was now experiencing the stern, and almost absolute rule of Henry VII.; whose object seemed to be rather to curb the turbulency of his people, than to extend his influence by foreign alliances.

Spain had consolidated her power by the union of Castille and Aragon; the ambition of the nobles had been restrained, the interests of the people protected, and trade and commerce promoted. The Moors had just been conquered in Grenada; and, at the accession of Maximilian, Ferdinand possessed a powerful navy, a numerous and well-disciplined army, and large resources. Under his auspices Christopher Columbus made his successful voyage to the west, and secured his discoveries to Spain. He was a man of great enterprise and naval skill; and having observed pieces of wood, and natural productions floated by the western waves, he thought that a vessel proceeding due west must at length reach a vast continent, which he believed would be India. He made several proposals to attempt the discovery; first to his native city Genoa, then to Portugal, and through his brother, to England; but meeting with no success, he applied to the court at Castille, where he obtained a small squadron.

He set sail on the 3rd of August 1492, and on the 12th of October discerned the woods of St. Salvador; and further on Cuba and Hispaniola; which were named the West Indies, because all were then convinced they were but parts of the vast continent of India. Four separate voyages were made by this distinguished man; and though all Europe rung with his praises, and Spain was enriched by his discoveries, he was suffered to die neglected, and in the deepest poverty. At the same time Portugal, which was wisely governed by John II., whose sole endeavours were to promote the internal peace, and commercial interests of the kingdom, sent out a fleet under Vasco da Gama to sail round Africa in search of India; which arrived in safety at its destination, after a prosperous voyage.

Italy was divided into several petty states; the influence of the German emperors was gone, though they still claimed to be the recognised head over all, except the districts which had been ceded to the church. Milan was held by a weak and peaceful duke, Galeas Sforza; who was greatly influenced by his uncle Ludovico, a prince possessing talents of a very superior order, which commanded the respect of the whole of Italy. When the young duke married, his wife endeavoured to cast off the control of the uncle, by means of Florence and Naples; but Ludovico aroused the King of France against Naples, and gained Maximilian by offering to him his niece Bianca Maria, with a marriage portion of 400,000 ducats. Florence had reached a high state of prosperity under the magnificent rule of the Medici; Ferrara continued under Hercules I. to enjoy the ducal dignity conferred by Pope Pius II.; but Venice was still the most powerful of her neighbours; whose treasury, enriched by the commerce of Europe, enabled her to support large mercenary troops, the finest in Italy; though her position and her liberties naturally rendered her jealous of the emperors. The Pope, as the head of the papal states, enjoyed both temporal and spiritual power. The latter had been declining for a considerable time; the thunder of the Vatican no longer possessed the awful roar with which it once was invested, and the petty princes quailed not before the anathemas as they formerly had done. The supremacy of the council had been asserted, and Germany declared independent of the pope; yet the immense revenues of the church enabled the pontiff to hire mercenaries, and the terrible inquisition, and the order of Jesuits successfully maintained his influence. Alexander VI. occupied the throne at Maximilian's accession; a pontiff endowed with commanding talents, but stained with the most hideous cruelty, and the most unblushing crimes.

The Helvetic union had been steadily increasing in extent and strength; their hardy sons taught the French and German princes in many successful battles the importance of their valour; and their alliance was eagerly courted by the ambitious sovereigns. They became the most celebrated mercenaries of Europe; formed an intimate union with the Grisons, who occupied the Rhetian Alps; and proved themselves, on many occasions, powerful enemies, or important friends. Turkey was reposing for a time after the death of Mohammed II., who by his wars had spread consternation

throughout Europe; and his son Bajazet II. found ample occupation in the disturbances which arose in his capital, and in the Circassian war; though he also found time to harass the borders of Hungary by predatory excursions. Russia had only just emerged from confusion and obscurity by raising Ivan Vassilievitch to the throne; who extended his conquests as far as the frozen ocean on the north, Lithuania on the west, Siberia on the east, and the Caspian on the south. He was deemed of sufficient importance to attract the attention of older sovereignties; and we find Maximilian courting his alliance against the King of Poland. Bohemia and Hungary were now ruled by one King Wladislaus, a weak and pacific prince.

The condition of Germany was by no means favourable to the designs of the emperor. It consisted of a number of independent sovereignties and states, united by means of a diet, and presided over by the imperial head. The chief families were subdivided into various branches, among whom contests were frequent, as well as between rival cities; while the emperor had solely to rely for succour on his patrimonial possessions, and on what the diet might choose to allow. Austria had been drained of its resources by Matthias; Burgundy was under the control of the diet; and the valuable mines of the Tyrol constituted the chief revenues of Maximilian.

The progress of literature and discovery greatly facilitated the advance of civilisation. "The lamp of learning was relumed; the study of the scholastic theology and philosophy and of the Roman law sharpened men's intellects; travels into the east enlarged their knowledge of the earth; the use of the mariner's compass emboldened their navigation; gunpowder changed the face of war; paper, and at length the art of printing gave a more rapid diffusion to knowledge; the taking of Constantinople scattered the learning of the Greeks over the west; schools and universities were numerous; men were become eager for knowledge; classical learning was in Italy cultivated with ardour, and a strong feeling of admiration for the institutions and philosophy of antiquity excited; the discourses and writings of Wickliffe, Huss, and their disciples awakened beyond the Alps attention to the important topics of religion; the discovery of India and the New World filled men's minds with vague aspirations after adventure, conquest, wealth, and knowledge. A universal fermentation was going on."

Such was the state of Europe when Maximilian ascended the throne; in which the intelligent observer can detect the germs which were being silently developed, and which led to such vast changes in the religion, the government, the commerce, the social and intellectual condition of the nation.

Maximilian commenced his glorious reign by earning the gratitude of his subjects for delivering them from an invasion of the Turks, who had advanced into Styria. After the funeral obsequies of his parent were over, he repaired to Innspruck; where he espoused Bianca, sister of Galeas duke of Milan; which drew down upon him the bitter reproaches of the German nobles, whose pride was wounded at their chief descending to such a low-born family.

Maximilian, however, was anxious to secure the handsome dowry she brought to her husband, and to gain a plausible pretext for interfering in the affairs of Italy.

Meanwhile the King of France was carrying out his premeditated expedition against the King of Naples. He entered into alliances with Savoy, and Ludovico, who had before endeavoured to depose his nephew Galeas, and had ascended the throne on his death; and at the head of 16,000 men and 6,000 horse, he crossed the Alps, drove Peter de Medici into exile, liberated Florence from the domination of the Medici, and entered Rome on the 31st of December 1494. He then marched towards Naples, succeeded in reducing that kingdom, and in May he pompously assumed the title of king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem. The rapid progress of Charles VIII. caused great consternation among the Italian princes, and especially in Maximilian. A league was instantly entered into by the emperor, the pope, Milan, Florence, and Ferdinand of Aragon; each of whom was to furnish a contingent of men to expel the King of France from the country.

Maximilian summoned the diet of the empire, that they might furnish him with the necessary means; which was held at Worms May 26 1496. He presided over it in person; and in an eloquent address setting forth the dignity of the empire, and the dangers which threatened it, he applied for assistance first against the Turks, who had invaded Croatia, and then against France, which had humbled Italy. His eloquence, however, had little effect on the assembled princes; in vain did the ambassadors from the King of Naples prostrate themselves before the diet; in vain did the duke of Milan claim support as a member of the empire, and the legate picture the distress of the pope, whose fair territory was ravaged, and whose dignity was insulted by the barbarous soldiers; the states were resolved first to see to the internal tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, before they checked the incursions of the Turks, or chastised the insolence of France. Maximilian was obliged to yield to the clamour for peace; he signed the ordinances which were drawn up, and established an imperial chamber to enforce the enactments. The right of private warfare was abolished, and a penalty of 2,000 marks inflicted on all challengers and their abettors. The council was composed of a president and sixteen councillors, who were paid, and held their office for life; but its authority was weakened by the prerogatives of the emperor, and the princes, and by the want of adequate funds for its maintenance. A tax was also levied, called the common penny, which was to be continued for four years. The supplies which the diet voted to Maximilian, however, were so feeble, that he was able to dispatch to Italy only 3,000 men.

Charles was alarmed when he first heard of the league formed against him, and suddenly quitted Naples; he continued his march across the Apennines, when he encountered the confederate army on the banks of the Tanaro. Though very inferior in number, Charles cut his way through them, and inflicted a heavy loss on the enemy. He had not long returned to France, before he prepared for another

expedition into Italy. The Italian princes prevailed on Maximilian to assist them in their war, and he accordingly hastened across the Alps; but his martial ardour was damped by the intelligence that the expedition of Charles was postponed. To gratify his ambition, he made an attempt to reduce Leghorn, which was rendered ineffectual by the desertion of his allies; and in December 1496 he returned to his own country, mortified in his feelings, and lowered in the estimation of his subjects. He was soon involved in a fresh contest with France respecting the duchy of Burgundy, and the towns which by the peace of Senlis Charles had agreed to restore; and also respecting Guelderland of which Philip, Maximilian's son, had taken possession as a fief of the Empire, but which had revolted when the late tax had been introduced, and after a severe struggle, passed into the hands of the king of France.

In these contests the value of the Swiss mercenaries was apparent, and induced the emperor to court their friendship. Among some of the cantons he was successful; but among others French liberality and influence prevailed; and they resisted all his efforts to gain them to his side. He resorted to sterner measures; and on their still refusing to yield, the pope excommunicated the Swiss. They instantly united in a powerful league, and refused to render any assistance to the emperor in his wars; when a single incident speedily brought the matter to an issue. A body of Tyrolese attacked the Grisons; the Swiss sided with the latter, and Maximilian with the former. The German forces were defeated by the brave mountaineers; the Austrian leaders deserted their master before Constance; and when the royal army 16,000 strong advanced to Dornach, a body of 6,000 Swiss rushed impetuously upon them, slew the most distinguished nobles, and cut down more than 4,000 of the Austrian soldiers. Maximilian wisely listened to the overtures for peace, and in September 1499, concluded a treaty with the Helvetic States, by which they were freed from the jurisdiction of the imperial chamber, and exempted from all taxes and contributions imposed by the emperor. The freedom of the Swiss dates its foundation from this period, and every year grew stronger, till at length the union was recognised by the empire, took its place among European powers, and exerted no slight influence on the affairs of the neighbouring countries.

Maximilian had been partly induced to sign the treaty with the Swiss, that he might be more at liberty to watch the designs of France on the duchy of Milan. Charles VIII. had been succeeded by Louis XII., who resolved first to secure Milan before he made an attempt on Naples. He gained to his side the pope by promising to enrich his son Cæsar Borgia; the Venetians, by the offer of Cremona; and Florence, by threats and bribes. With an army of 22,000 men he crossed the Alps, entered the duchy, and drove his enemy before him so successfully that in twenty days after his first appearance, he made his triumphal entry into the capital, and was inaugurated as the duke of Milan. Ludovico Sforza escaped through great perils into the Tyrol, and entreated Maximilian to render him

assistance. The dissatisfaction of his subjects towards the French king, induced the unfortunate duke to hire a body of Burgundian horse and Swiss mercenaries; with which he entered his territories, and was hailed as a welcome deliverer. He was rapidly regaining his possessions, when he was baffled by the gallant resistance of the garrison of Novara. While he was engaged in prosecuting the siege of this place, Louis dispatched a fresh army to its rescue, which entirely surrounded the besiegers. Treachery defeated the plans of Ludovico; his Swiss soldiers refused to fight against their brethren; and the only boon he could gain from them was the permission to march away with them in the disguise of a private soldier. The French ranks were scarcely passed, when a soldier of Uri pointed him out to his enemies; who seized him, and carried him to France, where he died in captivity A.D. 1510.

Maximilian beheld with alarm the success of Louis, and heard with indignation of his premeditated conquest of Naples. He entered into an alliance with Frederick king of Naples, united six of the Swiss cantons with the house of Austria, and appealed to the diet at Augsburg to afford him assistance against the Turks, and against France. The diet still adhered to their former policy of granting no succour till the internal government and peace of the empire were consolidated; they insisted on the reorganisation of the imperial chamber, and the establishment of a council of regency; which was to exercise the government of the empire, during the absence of the chief, and the interval of the diet; to consist of twenty councillors and a president; to be limited in its duration to six years; and to have a fixed residence at Nuremberg. Maximilian gave his tardy consent, and appointed Frederick duke of Saxony, president; and having summoned the council, he laid before it his plan for the establishment of peace. This, to his great surprise, was referred to a future diet; and with equal astonishment he learnt that a deputation had been sent to Louis, and concluded a truce with him, which the council now requested Maximilian to ratify. He however indignantly refused to sanction it. Louis saw the necessity of pacifying the emperor before he attempted the conquest of Naples; and won over the archduke Philip, by the promise of his daughter Claude to the infant son of Philip, with Milan as a dowry, and of his influence to secure to him the succession of Aragon and Castille. Philip gradually swayed his father, and induced him to enter into a treaty with Louis at Trent December 13, 1501; by which the marriage of Charles was confirmed. Louis was to be invested with Milan for a stipulated sum, was to assist against the Turks, and to support the claims of Austria on Hungary and Bohemia, and of Philip on the Spanish possessions. Louis meanwhile had entered into an engagement with Ferdinand and the pope against Naples; and the perfidious Spanish king betrayed the interests of his relative the king of Naples; who resigned his crown, and placed himself under the protection of Louis, by whom he was most honourably treated as a captive.

Maximilian had often resolved on a grand military expedition



against the Turks, and had in vain solicited assistance from the diet. When the treaty of Trent relieved his fears respecting Italy, the holy work engaged his sole attention; and taking advantage of the appearance of some extraordinary natural signs, and a dreadful pestilence, he appealed to all his warriors in the name of heaven to join his standard, and exterminate the infidels. His enthusiasm was shared in by a great number of the nobles and knights; and vast preparations were made for the enterprise, but the emperor was diverted from his purpose by the breaking out of a war in Bavaria, which brought more honour to his arms than the romantic crusade most likely would have furnished.

Bavaria had been divided into two branches, the Palatine and Bavaria; and the latter again into two lines, that of Landshut and Munich. George duke of Landshut died without male issue; and his dominions were claimed by his daughter, who had married Robert son of the elector Palatine, and also by his cousins of Munich. George left them by will to his daughter; but the Bavarian states appealed to the emperor, who adjudged them to Munich. Robert and Elizabeth, however, aided by the elector, took possession of them; and both parties flew to arms. Maximilian felt his authority slighted; and, having placed himself at the head of his army, marched against Robert, who was encamped at Ratisbon. The resistance he met with was very great; the imperial ranks were broken; Maximilian was thrown on the ground by a party with grappling hooks, and was alone saved from death by the Duke of Brunswick; who rushed to his rescue, and received the blows aimed at the prostrate emperor. The enemy, however, was defeated; and Robert and Elizabeth died, leaving three infant sons, on whose behalf the elector carried on the war. The Palatinate was ravaged by the royal troops; and the elector at length delivered himself up to the emperor; who summoned a diet at Cologne, awarded the possessions to the lawful owners, and to indemnify himself for the expenses of the war, took possession of several towns, and granted others to his allies; by which the Palatinate was reduced to the condition of a second-rate power among the Germanic states.

The affairs of Italy and Spain now absorbed the attention of Maximilian. Ferdinand and Louis quarrelled about the division of the spoils of Naples; and the French succeeded in reducing the Spanish general to the greatest distress. Maximilian secretly sent an army through Venice to assist the Spaniards; by the aid of which they were enabled to drive the French out of Naples. Philip at this time was involved in disputes with Ferdinand, and was courting a fresh alliance with Louis at Blois, where they agreed to renew the treaty of Trent; and was surprised when he heard his father had sent assistance against the French. He lost no time in persuading Maximilian to a reconciliation; which was at length effected by the treaty at Blois A.D. 1504.

By a series of unforeseen circumstances, the wife of Philip, Joanna, became the heir presumptive to the crowns of Aragon and Castille; and they repaired thither to have their title acknowledged by the

Cortes. Ferdinand was influenced by a great dislike to his son-in-law; and when Isabella died, he became Regent, and assumed the government; and to secure the crowns from the house of Austria, even proposed a marriage with a young Frenchman. Louis secretly favoured the designs of the King of Aragon, that the power of Austria might not be increased; and Philip was astounded by the perfidy of the monarch whom he had so befriended. He collected a body of troops with which he sailed from the low countries, and landed at Corunna, where he was warmly received by the Castillians. He then assumed the government of the kingdom; but his cruelty to his queen, and the changes he introduced aroused the disaffection of the people; which would have burst out in a revolution, had not a fever cut him off after a reign of only four months A.D. 1506. His amiable queen, whose mind had been weak and wandering for some time past, was afflicted with occasional insanity. A settled melancholy brooded over her; she neglected all the affairs of state, and doated over the dead body of her husband; and at last awakening to the conviction of her desolate condition, she relapsed into her insanity, and was obliged to be put under restraint, in which state she remained for nearly fifty years.

A council of regency was established in Castille to meet the present emergency; but discord paralysed its efforts. Ferdinand was in Naples securing the allegiance of his new subjects; and remained there longer than was necessary, that the Castillians might feel more keenly their situation, and be more disposed at length to intrust the government to him. Maximilian used every effort to secure the guardianship of his grandson Charles; but was defeated by the energy of Ferdinand; who renewed his alliance with France, hastened into Castille, chastised the rebellious nobles, and established peace and order throughout the kingdom. Nor was Maximilian more successful in his endeavour to secure the guardianship of his grandsons in the Netherlands; for the states appointed a council of regency under the King of France as their liege lord. When, however, that country was disturbed by commotion and war, they freely offered their submission; and the emperor appointed his daughter Margaret regent.

Meanwhile Italy again became the scene of a fresh contest. The death of Pope Alexander VI. stayed for a time the progress of his ambitious son Cæsar Borgia, who had succeeded in acquiring most of the towns of Romagna, and in creating an independent sovereignty. Pope Pius III. enjoyed the pontifical throne only twenty-six days; and was succeeded by Julius II., an ambitious, resolute, and unscrupulous pontiff, who bent all his energies to recover the territories claimed by the holy see, and to expel all foreigners from Italy. He wrested from Cæsar Borgia the towns which he had acquired; and procured from the Venetians the territories which belonged to the church. When Philip was King of Castille, the pope feared the power of Austria, and united with Louis; but on his death and the union of France and Aragon, he sought to weaken the influence of Louis; and when that sovereign

appeared in Genoa to suppress an insurrection, Julius appealed to Maximilian, and awakened his fear by representing Louis as meditating the conquest of Italy, and obtaining possession of the imperial crown. Maximilian met the diet at Constance; and by his impassioned eloquence so moved the princes that to support the dignity of the empire, they voted an army of 90,000 men to reduce the power of France. Louis avoided a war with the empire, and disbanded his troops after he had quelled the insurrection at Genoa. Julius, no longer dreading the presence of Louis, now feared the power of Maximilian, and sent his legate to prevent him entering Italy; and the Venetians refused to allow him to pass with troops through their territories. Maximilian, however, was not so easily turned aside, and resolved to proceed; he burst into the Venetian dominions, and gained a few slight successes; but receiving no succour from the empire, he was obliged to retire, his troops were defeated, Trieste and Fiume taken from him; and at length the emperor gladly agreed to an armistice for three years, June 6, 1508.

The insolence and rapacity of the republic, however, procured her many enemies. Maximilian had been insulted and robbed by her of his maritime possessions; Louis was offended by her granting assistance to his enemies, and was anxious to obtain the possessions she had seized belonging to the duchy of Milan; Julius coveted Ravenna, Rimini, and Faenza; the petty princes of Italy longed to see their ambitious rival humbled; and Ferdinand desired the maritime towns which had been mortgaged to her by former Neapolitan kings. This feeling produced the celebrated league of Cambray, which united these princes against Venice. The proposal came first from Maximilian, who entrusted to his daughter Margaret to meet the Cardinal d'Amboise at Cambray; and, under the pretence of arranging the disputes of the emperor and Louis, to enter into a secret treaty to dismember the Venetian territories, and divide them among the several princes. The kings of France and Aragon collected their troops for the expedition; and Maximilian summoned a diet at Worms, and submitted to them the plan of the league. The diet expressed their disapproval of the undertaking; they complained that they had been too frequently called on to bear the burden of war, and that the succours already granted had never brought honour to the empire, but disgrace and trouble. This drew forth an indignant reply from Maximilian; and he showed them that it was their tardiness and meanness which had frustrated all his plans, and crippled all his efforts. The diet, however, granted no supplies; and the emperor was obliged to rely on his own resources to fulfil the conditions of the treaty.

Meanwhile Louis crossed the Alps at the head of 17,000 men, defeated the Venetian troops, captured the towns assigned to him by the league, and terrified the royal city itself with a distant cannonade. The pope also sent 10,000 men, and took possession of his share; and the generals of Maximilian recaptured Trieste, and the other towns taken by Venice. These disasters aroused the Venetians to a sense of the magnitude of the calamity which

threatened them; they withdrew their forces to defend their capital, and sent ambassadors to the pope and to Maximilian to humble themselves, and to propose for peace. The dissensions which were secretly fostered among the allies favoured Venice in her extremity. The king of Aragon was indifferent about humbling the republic; Louis and Maximilian viewed each other with jealousy; and the pope dreaded whoever was most powerful. Louis retired to Milan; the emperor was so crippled in his means as to be unable to proceed; and the Venetians embraced the opportunity of reconquering many of the towns.

Julius II. was the first openly to break the league. He made peace with Venice; and by the aid of the Cardinal of Sion, took 6000 Swiss into his pay. The pontiff though burdened with the infirmities of sickness and age, forgot the sacred duties of his office in the exuberance of his martial zeal; placed himself at the head of his troops; and by his bravery and skill succeeded in carrying the important fortress of Mirandola. The perfidy of the pope awakened the resentment of the king of France and Maximilian; and each revived in his dominions the ancient quarrel respecting the authority and revenues of the holy see; and strengthened the army in Italy by strong reinforcements. Julius used every means to detach the emperor from France; but without effect. Louis with his powerful army forced his way to Bologna, and opened the road to the eternal city. The pope summoned all his resources in this emergency. He hurled his spiritual thunder against his enemies; procured reinforcements from Aragon and England; hired 17,000 Swiss to burst into Milan, and drive the French before them; and engaged Henry VIII. to join the Holy Alliance, and invade France. Maximilian saw the position of his ally, and began to waver in his attachment. Ferdinand and Julius were unwearied in their efforts to gain him to their side; and when the battle of Ravenna gave to the French the principal towns in Romagna, the emperor had concluded an armistice with the Venetians, and ordered all the Germans to quit the standard of France. The invasion of Navarre and of France by Aragon and England called Louis home; his troops were gradually expelled; and before long French influence was for a time at an end in Italy. A struggle took place respecting the duchy of Milan, which was at length bestowed on Maximilian Sforza December 29, 1512.

Disputes soon after arose between the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians; and the latter sought the alliance of France, and offered to restore the territories whence, but a short time before, they had driven them. Julius died on the 21st of February 1513, and was succeeded by Cardinal John de Medici; who, under the name of Leo X., carried out the intentions of his predecessor, and distinguished his pontificate by his magnificence, and the splendour of his talents. Maximilian united with Henry of England against France, and placed himself under him with 4,000 horse as a volunteer, with the pay of 100 crowns a-day; and by his bravery succeeded in defeating the French army in the battle of Spurs; which received

that appellation because the French there made more use of their spurs than of their swords. Louis exerted himself to recover his lost possessions in Italy, and attempted to gain the Swiss; but they refused to serve under his standard; and he burst into Milan with a large army, and crowned his arms with success. The Swiss, however, rushed to the assistance of the duke, conveyed him to Novara, and when the French besieged him, they attacked the besiegers, and drove them to their fortresses. The Swiss also descended into Burgundy; but were induced to retire by the magnificent proposals held out to them by the French general La Tremouille.

Louis was succeeded by his son-in-law Francis I., who secretly resolved not to relinquish the claims of the crown on Naples and Milan. The Swiss had strongly occupied the mountain passes; but Francis surprised them by imitating the famous march of Hannibal, and descended with his troops into the plain. A bloody battle was fought at Marignano, in which the Swiss were defeated, and returned home. Maximilian Sforza delivered himself to France; where, like his father, he died in exile. The emperor made an attempt to recover the Milanese; but the Swiss in his pay deserted him, success did not follow his endeavours, and at length he entered into a treaty with France at Brussels in December 1516. Thus was this disastrous struggle terminated. Maximilian gained no other advantage than a small addition to his family possessions; France held firmly the Milanese and Genoa; and Leo X. was master of Romagna. The Austrian dominions were however increased by the eventual transfer to the house of Hapsburg of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia by the marriage of Ferdinand to Anne daughter of Ladislaus. The Archduke Charles assumed the government of the Netherlands; and on the death of Ferdinand of Aragon, in January 1516, he became heir to the whole Spanish monarchy, including Sicily, Naples, and Navarre.

While Maximilian was engaged in these devastating wars, he displayed his wisdom in the reforms he introduced, and the measures he devised for the welfare of the empire. In 1500 he persuaded the diet to divide the empire into districts, each of which should maintain public peace within its limits; and the six ancient circles were consequently drawn out. The advantages of this system were so apparent, that in 1512, the family possessions of Austria and Burgundy were divided on the same plan; and also the dominions of the electors, who had hitherto refused their consent. The empire was thus divided into the ten circles of Austria, Burgundy, the Upper and Lower Rhine, Franconia, Bavaria, Swabia, Westphalia, and Upper and Lower Saxony. A diet regulated the affairs of each; a director, who was generally the most powerful prince within it, maintained internal tranquillity; and a colonel took charge of military affairs. Maximilian also raised his Austrian dominions to the greatest efficiency and order. He established a tribunal, since called the Aulic Council to assist him by counsel, and to hear appeals; and beneath this, he created several boards or colleges for the management of the revenues, justice, the ordinance, public works, &c.; by

means of which the Hapsburg possessions were kept tranquil, and rendered prosperous.

The latter part of the reign of Maximilian was disturbed by that mighty religious revolution which Luther produced; but as the emperor did not interfere in it beyond writing a letter to the pontiff Leo, we shall notice the rise and progress of the reformation when narrating the history of Charles V.

The emperor made one more effort to raise a crusade against the Turks. He appealed to the diet at Augsburg, and was supported by the legate of the pope, who sent him a consecrated hat and sword, and appointed him generalissimo of the Christian army; but the diet again refused to grant the supplies; some murmured at the exactions of the pope; and others even dared to insinuate that the pontiff was a far more dangerous enemy to Christianity than the Turks. Maximilian felt that now his chivalrous prospects were blighted for life; and he met with a still greater reverse in not being able to procure the election of his grandson Charles, as King of the Romans.

The days of Maximilian were fast hastening to a close. His health had been declining; and for the last four years, he had anticipated death by carrying his coffin with him wherever he went. He was seized with a fever at Innspruck; and thinking that a change would be beneficial to him, he repaired to Wels in Upper Austria, where he amused himself in hawking and hunting. He continued, however, rapidly to sink; and convinced that his end was fast approaching, he sent for a friar to converse with him, and to administer the ordinances of the church. He then summoned his ministers, signed his last testament, gave his final directions respecting his body, and his funeral; and stretching out his hands towards the bystanders, he affectionately pronounced his blessing upon them; and on the 11th of January 1519, in the sixtieth year of his age—the Emperor of Germany passed away.

The character of Maximilian shines forth with true lustre when viewed in connection with the age in which he lived, and the advantages he enjoyed. In his youth he was painfully afflicted with an indistinct articulation, which rendered him nearly speechless; and was so disgusted with his tutor, that instead of giving any promise of future greatness, he was noted solely for his dulness. It therefore reflects the greatest honour on his character to remember that, by his assiduous application, he became renowned for his sparkling eloquence, and distinguished by his varied learning, and his fertility of mind. He was majestic in his appearance, handsome in his features, cheerful in his disposition, and dignified in his bearing. His broad chest and muscular limbs were developed by the manly exercise of the chase and the tournament. His soul kindled in danger; the first rank in the chivalrous sports, and in battle was eagerly sought after; and many instances are recorded where he challenged gallant knights on the battle-field to single combat, and came off victorious. To be great and to bequeath a renowned name to posterity was his chief ambition; martial glory

fired his soul with vast designs, and his tongue with eloquence, and often prompted him to undertake what a little forethought and consideration would have demonstrated to be impracticable. Instability was his great failing; he projected and abandoned his enterprises with almost total indifference; and his prodigality and carelessness procured for him the epithet of the Moneyless. His mind was quick and comprehensive, and directed its energies to all subjects. He wrote numerous treatises on various branches of human knowledge, on religion, morality, the military art, architecture, his own inventions, and even on hunting, hawking, gardening, and cookery. He improved the construction of fire-arms, cannon, and armour; raised a standing army in his dominions, which was divided into companies, troops, and regiments; and established a regular post. He was a great patron of learning; surrounded himself with the literati of the day; and relished most thoroughly brilliant wit, sharp disputations, and the recital of wonderful exploits. "Had his means been equal to his abilities, or had his enterprising spirit, and his active, acute, and versatile mind been more under the guidance of judgment and discretion, his reign would have formed one of the most brilliant periods in Austrian history, and he would have been deservedly held up as the greatest sovereign of his time."

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## CHAPTER II.

CHARLES V. A.D. 1519-1558.

AT the time when Charles V. ascended the imperial throne, Germany was disturbed by a religious movement, which had been silently progressing for some years, and now burst forth into open strife. The seeds of truth which had been scattered in England by the successors of Wycliffe, and in Bohemia by the followers of Huss had sprung up, and called attention to the character of the papacy, and to the pretensions of the pope. The chair of St. Peter had been filled by a succession of pontiffs who envied the splendours and rule of the mighty potentates of earth; and in the insolency of their pride, gave free scope to their brutality, unbridled lusts, treachery, and rapacity. The papal treasury was enriched by draining the countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the spiritual power; and when the vast sums thus obtained were insufficient for these successors of the Apostles to squander on their mistresses, and their ambitious designs, recourse was had by pilgrimages to Rome, and the sale of indulgences to replenish the sacred exchequer. Following the example of their head, the various grades of the clergy were in a most degenerate condition. The cardinals were crafty diplomatists,

splendid princes, ambitious rulers, and notorious livers; the bishops were avaricious and indolent; the monks given to licentiousness and crime; the priests ignorant and debased; and the people oppressed by their exactions, and insulted by their arrogance. Such a state of things could not long remain undetected and unrebuked. Schools and universities had sprung up in all directions; the study of the dead languages had broken the spell of the scholastic authority; the art of printing furnished wonderful facilities for influencing the people by pictorial representations, and the learned by the re-issue of standard works; and long before Luther dissipated the charm which hung over his nation, the people were convinced of the shameful conduct of the ecclesiastics, and were prepared to welcome the reformed doctrines; though they had not the courage to declare their convictions.

Luther was eminently qualified by his birth, his education, and his sympathies, for the great and important work he accomplished. He was the son of a miner and a worker in metals, and was born at Eisleben in Saxony in November 1483. He received a sound education at Eisenach, and in 1501 repaired to the university at Erfurt, and devoted himself to the study of law; but the sudden death of his friend Alexius produced such a deep impression upon him, that he vowed to become a monk. He entered the Augustin convent, and passed through a long painful struggle of doubt and anxiety before he became settled in his faith. The journey to Rome, which he undertook in 1509 on some business connected with his order, deeply affected him. He had pictured to his devout heart the spiritual purity and simplicity of the sacred city; and he returned home shocked by the pomp, levity, and ungodliness he had there witnessed. His fame as a lecturer in the university in Wittenberg, and as a powerful and popular preacher was great; and attracted crowds of eager listeners.

In 1517 Pope Leo X. issued a bull authorising the sale of indulgences in Germany, for the purpose of raising money to build St. Peter's church, and to wage war against the infidels. The sale of the indulgences was entrusted to the great ecclesiastics, who employed the lowest monks to vend them. One of these, Tetzel a Dominican, set out on his mission with the greatest zeal, and puffed off his spiritual wares with all the quackery and impiety imaginable; and sold indulgences to the credulous people, which pretended to release the fortunate possessor not only from penance, but from sin of all kinds and degrees. Luther was shocked at this scandalous outrage on religion; and refused to acknowledge the validity of these indulgences, when some of his penitents confessed to him, and claimed exemption from penance, and the discipline of the church. They complained to the monk; who threatened punishment to whoever doubted their efficiency. Luther heeded not the boisterous thunder of Tetzel; he drew up ninety-five theses or propositions against indulgences, which he fixed to the gates of the castle, and church of Wittenberg; in which he affirmed "that by sincere repentance and penance alone, and not by the payment of a sum of money,



could sins be remitted, and consequently that the pope had no right to dispense absolution for money; moreover that the pope, being merely the vicegerent of God upon earth, could only remit the external penances ordained by the church on earth, not the eternal punishment awarded to the sinner after death."

These truths spread rapidly throughout Germany; and Luther expounded them to the crowded assembly which flocked to his church. Tetzel and his order burned the theses, and attempted to answer them; the pope, who had heard of the affair, treated it merely as a monkish quarrel which would soon subside; and the antagonists of the reformer increased the strife by their personal invectives, and coarse abuse. Leo was again appealed to, and summoned Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days to clear himself from the charge of heresy; but on the intercession of Frederick elector of Saxony, the pope allowed the reformer to be examined within the empire by Cajetan, whom he sent for that purpose to the diet which Maximilian had assembled at Augsburg. The emperor did not interfere in the quarrel more than to write a letter to the pope, in which he styled Luther a heretic, and offered to use any means the church might adopt to silence him. Luther repaired to Augsburg, and entered the city two days after the diet was dissolved; and seeing that his friends and the emperor had departed, he obtained a safe conduct from Maximilian before he encountered his enemies. Cajetan commanded him to retract his opinions, assumed a haughty bearing towards him, and refused to argue the merits of the case; and Luther, unable to conciliate him, secretly withdrew from the city, leaving behind him a solemn public appeal from "The pope ill-informed to the pope better informed." He was received at Wittenberg with the acclamation of a triumph; where, secure of the protection of the elector of Saxony, he appealed from the pope to a general council. Such was the state of this wonderful outburst of religious feeling, when the grandson of Maximilian was called to the throne.

Charles V. was born at Ghent on the 24th of February 1500; and, at the death of his father Philip, was placed under the care of his aunt Margaret. He received a sound and useful education from William de Croy, assisted by Adrian, who early fostered in his royal pupil a taste for military exercises, instructed him in the affairs of the dominions to which he was heir apparent, and fitted him wisely to govern the people under his sway. At the age of sixteen he assumed the government of the Netherlands; and the next year, the death of Ferdinand of Aragon called him to govern the mighty kingdom of Spain. His claims, however, were not immediately recognised by the Cortes; but the influence of Cardinal Ximenes, the celebrated minister of Ferdinand, induced them to elect Charles king, whose immediate presence in Castille he urgently requested. Charles concluded a treaty with Francis I. to enable him to pass through France; and landed at Villa Vieiosa in Asturias, with a retinue of Flemish counsellors. He ungratefully dismissed Ximenes from his service, conferred the highest dignities of church and state on his Flemish followers, and provoked the dissatisfaction of his new

subjects, by disregarding their privileges. It was with great difficulty, therefore, that he was recognised by the Cortes; and it was not till the commencement of 1519 that he was finally inaugurated in his kingdom.

The death of Maximilian opened to Charles the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, for the possession of which there were several competitors. Henry VIII. soon withdrew his claim; Francis I. energetically urged his suit; Charles sent ambassadors laden with the riches of Spain to secure the votes; and the pope, who dreaded the accession of either the King of France or of Spain, advised the electors to raise one of themselves to the imperial dignity. It was offered to Frederick elector of Saxony; but he was too wise to accept the gift at such a critical period; and after an interregnum of six months, Charles was called to the throne on the 28th of June 1519.

The clamour of his Spanish subjects, when the news of his election reached them, was excessive; his demands for supplies of money to enable him to defray the expenses of his journey and his coronation, were tardily granted with bitter complaints; and tumults broke out at Toledo and Valladolid, which threatened the safety of his nobles and himself. Having appointed Adrian, his former preceptor, regent of Castille, and two Spanish nobles viceroys of Aragon and Valencia, Charles sailed from Corunna; touched at Dover, and had an interview with Henry VIII., and Cardinal Wolsey; passed rapidly through the Netherlands; and on the 23rd of October 1520 was crowned emperor of Germany at Aix-la-Chapelle, after he had ratified the thirty-six articles which had been drawn up by the electors, and signed by his ambassadors before his election, which confirmed all the privileges, laws, and customs of the states and electors; and the signature of which was afterwards demanded of all succeeding sovereigns.

The great progress of the reformed doctrines had caused a general fermentation in Germany, and demanded the interference of the emperor. The pontiff had exhausted all his conciliatory efforts to silence the reformer; but his endeavours were paralysed by the indiscretion of his zealous partisans. Luther was drawn into controversies with them, and in the heat of dispute neutralised the effect of all his previous concessions by vehemently attacking the doctrine and authority of the church. Leo then yielded to the advice of his cardinals, and issued his celebrated bull; which condemned forty-one of Luther's propositions as heretical, and declared that unless he retracted within sixty days, he would be treated as a heretic. It prohibited the reading of his writings, and thundered the ban of excommunication against all who aided and sheltered him. Luther's magnanimous spirit rose to the exigencies of the occasion; in two celebrated works he combatted the claims of the pontiff; and on the 10th of December 1520, accompanied by the professors and students of the university of Wittenberg, and a vast concourse of people, he solemnly committed the decrees of the pope, the writings of his enemies, and the famous bull to the flames, with

these remarkable words, "Because thou hast troubled the Holy One of God, let eternal fire consume thee!" His intrepid example was followed in many cities in Germany; everywhere the flames cast their lurid glare on the crowds, and gave increased impressiveness to the scene; the people had their confidence shaken in their old faith, and were prepared to embrace the new truths; learned men, such as Carlstadt and Melancthon, skilfully defended the reformed doctrines; and crowds of enthusiastic students flocked around the professor, eagerly treasured up the imperishable seeds of truth, and spread them broadcast on their return to their native places. The whole of Germany was moved by this grand religious excitement.

Before Charles was crowned king of Spain, he promised his Spanish and Flemish nobles to suppress the new doctrines; and in January 1521 he summoned the grand diet at Worms, which was attended by the great princes of the empire, that the heretical opinions might be suppressed. The diet, however, at the instigation of Frederick of Saxony refused, on the ground of justice, to condemn Luther before he had acknowledged the opinions attributed to him, and refused to recant; the emperor, therefore, summoned Luther to appear, and gave him a safe conduct; thinking that the imposing appearance of the august assembly would awe the humble monk, and procure his recantation. Luther's progress from Wittenberg to Worms was a triumphal procession; the crowds gathered to see him in far greater numbers than when Charles himself came to receive his dignity, and with tears gave him their blessing; and when he appeared before the diet, and owned the works to which his signature was attached, the assembly could not help admiring his firmness and wisdom, however sternly they were opposed to his theology. The papal legate urged the emperor to withdraw the protection he had given him; but Charles indignantly refused, and privately endeavoured to induce Luther to yield. He waited till the elector of Saxony and other powerful princes favourable to the reformer had withdrawn; and then procured from the diet the celebrated edict of Worms, which confirmed the pope's bull, and declared Luther a heretic. The intrepid reformer had retired from Worms two days previous to its passing, under the safe conduct of the emperor; but when near Eisenach, he was seized by a troop of horsemen, under the order of the elector, and conveyed to the castle of Wartburg; where he remained nine months, unknown to his friends except Frederick, and to his enemies. In his seclusion, which he styled his Patmos, he commenced his translation of the Bible, which doubtless did more to hasten and consolidate the reformation than any other effort he had made.

Several events conspired to favour the cause of Luther. Charles was hastily summoned to Spain by the outbreak of fresh troubles in Castille. Before he departed, he appointed a new council of regency, and ceded to his brother Ferdinand the whole of the Austrian dominions; so that the house of Hapsburg became separated into two distinct branches, the Spanish branch under Charles, and the German under Ferdinand. We shall here relate only the incidents

connected with the history of Charles so far as Germany is concerned, as the details of the Spanish wars belong more to that department of history. The changes which had taken place among the popes were also favourable to the reformation. Leo died in 1521, and was succeeded by Adrian, whom the influence of Charles advanced to the papal dignity; who aided the cause of Luther by his ingenuous confession that the church needed a thorough reform. The archduke Ferdinand was also too much engaged with his contests in Bohemia to attend to the claims of the church.

During the retirement of Luther, the fanatical spirit of some of his followers burst out. Carlstadt assembled a band of reformers, who broke into the churches, demolished the images, administered freely the sacrament in both kinds, and violated the monastic vows of celibacy by marrying. Luther heard of these proceedings in his retreat, and suddenly quitted the castle. He rebuked Carlstadt for his indiscretion; and by his eloquence succeeded in restraining the people from such violent measures. The archduke summoned a diet at Nuremberg; when pope Adrian upbraided the princes for not carrying out the edict of Worms, and yet at the same time admitted that the church was corrupt, and that reforms should be promoted. The princes advised the pontiff to assemble a council, and reform the abuses at once; and drew up a list of one hundred grievances, from which they demanded a release. On the reassembling of the diet next year, they reiterated their demands; and had such faith in the promises of the pope, that they exhorted all persons to wait patiently for the promised reforms, and not to disturb the public peace. The Lutherans were thus encouraged, by the peaceable disposition of the diet, to proceed in their work; and sheltered themselves under the authority of the confession of Adrian. The New Testament appeared in the vernacular; the preachers appealed to the gospel as their authority; the gates of convents and nunneries were thrown open; and marriage proclaimed as a right of the clergy. Luther, at the persuasion of the Saxon clergy, directed his mind to the formation of a regular system of faith and discipline. He drew up, with the aid of Melancthon, the confession of faith; altered the mass, by omitting the objectionable parts, and translated it into the German tongue; fixed the appropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues; and gave solidity and standing to the Lutheran religion.

While thus the moderate party was gaining strength and influence, the reformation was used as a pretext to favour the rapacity of the nobles, and the fanaticism of the peasantry. In Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhenish provinces, the nobles embraced the opportunity of seizing the lands belonging to the church, and increasing their territorial possessions. The peasantry had long groaned under the oppression of the nobles, and had attempted to free themselves from their yoke. Two of Luther's disciples, Müntzer and Store, separated from their master, and formed the sect called Anabaptists, because they rejected infant baptism and adopted adult alone. These fanatics laid claim to fresh revelations from heaven, surrounded themselves with apostles and teachers, and succeeded in rousing the peasantry

against the nobles, and against all constitutional law. In 1524 the peasantry rose in every part of Germany under various leaders, and vented their infuriated feelings by destroying everything with which they came into contact. Luther beheld with indignation the ravages of the fanatics, and tried to calm their excited spirits; the moderate party united with the archduke to put down the outbreak; and at length the sect was scattered, Müntzer executed, and the party brought to submission; but not before more than 100,000 victims had been crushed by the imperial troops.

Luther now lost his powerful friend the elector of Saxony; but found a warm supporter in his successor John, who openly embraced the reformed doctrines. His example was followed by Philip of Hesse, the dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Zell, and by several imperial cities. Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of the Teutonic order, renounced his vow of celibacy, openly professed the Lutheran religion, converted eastern Prussia into an independent duchy, and entered into a league with the elector of Saxony. Luther also broke his vow of celibacy, and married Catherine Bora, a noble lady who had escaped from a nunnery.

While these events were taking place in Germany, Charles was quelling an insurrection which had arisen in Castille between the regent and the people, and which had advanced to such a degree, that the troops of the regent had been defeated, and the most considerable towns in Castille were in the hands of the insurgents. The wisdom and prudence of Charles enabled him to quell the tumult; and the great war in which he was now engaged in Italy soon engrossed his attention. Francis I. attempted to recover Navarre, which he effected for a short time, but was then defeated by the Spanish; and his invasion of the low countries did not secure to him any great advantage. A powerful league was formed between the pope, Henry VIII., and Charles against France. Milan resolved to expel the French, and place themselves under Francis Sforza. The French were defeated; Lautrec their commander fled to Venice; but being assisted by Swiss mercenaries, he returned to Milan, and was repulsed at the battle of Bicocca. The imperial armies, aided by England, invaded France. The king determined to reduce Milan with a large army; and met with great success till he reached Pavia, a well-garrisoned town. Here a powerful army had been collected by the imperial generals, and was in excellent condition; while the French were weakened by fatigue, the rigour of winter, and divisions. The united forces attacked the French with great energy, and the garrison sallied forth from the town; the Swiss gave way; the ranks of the French were thrown into confusion; and Francis, after beholding the flower of his nobility cut down, surrendered himself as a prisoner 24th of February 1525. The king was taken to Madrid; and after a rigorous confinement was released on signing the treaty of Madrid, by which he promised to renounce his pretensions to Naples and Milan, to restore Burgundy, and give his two eldest sons as hostages.

The Burgundian states protested against the surrender of their

province; the pope Clement VII. absolved Francis from his oath; and the Holy Alliance was formed among the pope, England, the Swiss, Venice, Florence, and Milan to force Charles to give up the two sons of Francis, and to restore Milan to Sforza. Italy again was devastated by contending armies; Charles Bourbon, cousin to the French king, but now generalissimo of the imperial armies, ravaged Milan, and led his victorious army to Rome, where he was shot; but his troops plundered the city, took captive the pope, and forced him to pay a heavy ransom after six month's confinement. The French army miserably perished by famine and disease before Naples; Charles, anxious to attend to his Austrian dominions, sued for peace; and two celebrated ladies, Margaret, aunt to the emperor, and Louisa, mother of Francis, concluded the treaty of Cambray A.D. 1529; by which Francis agreed to pay two million crowns as a ransom for his sons, to give up all claims on Italy, and to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; while Charles on his part agreed to abandon Burgundy. Charles was then reconciled to the pope; was crowned emperor of Germany and king of Lombardy at Bologna in 1530; united his troops with the papal army; and reduced his last opponent, Florence.

During the absence of Charles from Germany, his brother Ferdinand was the sole administrator of the affairs of the empire, and manifested great tolerance towards the reformers. His marriage with Anne sister of Louis king of Hungary and Bohemia, awakened in him the expectation of receiving those dominions after the death of the young king. The Turks were advancing with rapid strides in the east and the west. The Sultan Selim had subdued Armenia, and humbled the power of Persia; had carried his triumphant arms into Arabia, and annexed Syria and Egypt to his dominions. His son Solymán, whose talents and bravery procured for him the proud distinction of the Magnificent, carried out the bold projects of his father. Belgrade, the great frontier fortress of Hungary, was captured by him; and Rhodes, the key to the Mediterranean, fell into his power. He contemplated the conquest of Hungary, and crossed the Danube with an army of 200,000 men for that purpose. Louis could bring into the field only 30,000 men, and wisely proposed to act on the defensive till the Austrian and Bohemian troops could be brought up. His advice was overruled by the rashness of his commanders; the two armies met on the dreary plains of Mohacz; and though the Hungarians fought with the energy of despair and fanaticism, they were cut to pieces, and left 22,000 dead on the field. Louis fled from the carnage; and while crossing a stream, his horse fell upon him, and he expired A.D. 1526.

Ferdinand laid claim to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia in right of his wife Anne, as Louis was the last male heir; and also in right of compacts which secured their reversion to Austria. The states refused to acknowledge his claim, and asserted their privilege of freely choosing a successor. Ferdinand yielded to them by offering himself as a candidate for the throne; and, though opposed

by Albert duke of Bavaria, was elected King of Bohemia. He promised to respect the rights of his subjects, to govern according to their laws, and to reside at Prague; and after having taken the usual oaths was crowned in the cathedral on the 4th of February 1527. His claim to the crown of Hungary was contested by John of Zapoli, waivode of Transylvania, who assembled the states at Tokay, was chosen by a large party of nobles, crowned king, and took up his residence at Buda. The widow of Louis, Mary sister to Ferdinand, summoned a diet at Presburg, declared the election of John illegal, and by a party of nobles raised Ferdinand to the throne. He marched with a powerful army to Presburg, took the customary oaths, and proceeded to Buda. John quickly retired from the capital, and his troops were defeated in several encounters. Ferdinand was crowned by the Archbishop of Gran amid the acclamations of his followers, pronounced the ban against his rival, and established a council of regency to govern in his absence.

John fled to Poland; but afterwards entered into an arrangement with the Sultan to receive from him Hungary as a fief of Turkey. Ferdinand had meanwhile sent ambassadors to Constantinople to demand the restitution of Belgrade, and the other places which the Turks had taken. The Sultan rose up indignantly and said, "Go tell your master that I am collecting troops, and preparing for my expedition; I will suspend at my neck the keys of my Hungarian fortresses, and will bring them to that plain of Mohacz, where Louis found a defeat and a grave. Let Ferdinand meet and conquer me, and take them after severing my head from my body; but if I find him not there, I will seek him at Buda, or follow him to Vienna." This threat was soon executed. John burst into Hungary, defeated the Austrians at Cassau, and gained many to his standard; and Solyman appeared in the plains of Mohacz with 300,000 men. Very little resistance was offered to him; Pest and Buda capitulated; Lintz was ravaged by his wild horsemen; and he rapidly advanced to the walls of Vienna. The royal city was placed in the greatest jeopardy; Charles was engaged in his Italian wars; the states were occupied with religious quarrels; Bohemia was in a state of utter weakness; and Ferdinand alone was able to send 20,000 men to its relief. The Turks, however, met with great reverses. The Sultan lost his artillery in the Danube by the heroic efforts of Presburg; the garrison of Vienna baffled all his plans, and repelled his assaults; and after an ineffectual siege of thirty days, he was compelled to retreat to Buda. He reinstated John on the throne, and left a garrison of Turks for his support; but the ravages of his troops, and the captives he carried off, so desolated the country, that the sad spectacle even drew tears from the eyes of the king. Ferdinand at first turned his arms against his rival; but after a few successes, he was induced by his affairs in Germany, to conclude an armistice with John by means of the King of Poland.

Meanwhile the reformation was gaining great strength and prosperity. The wars in which the emperor had been engaged, especially in Italy, absorbed the attention of the pope, and

prevented Charles taking any stringent measures against the Lutherans. The diet at Spires in June 1526 entered into the religious discussions with great eagerness, and was divided into two contending parties, each of which threatened the country with civil war. The Catholics demanded the execution of the edict of Worms; the Reformed demanded a full and complete toleration. The elements of strife were hushed by the prudence of Ferdinand, who effected a compromise by assuring them that a general council should be convoked as soon as possible. The Lutherans viewed this as a triumph to their cause; and encouraged by the contempt which the fall and imprisonment of the pope procured for him in Germany, they energetically preached their doctrines, and explained their principles. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. Princes who had hitherto looked coldly upon them, now publicly embraced their opinions, and granted protection to the oppressed subjects of Catholic princes. The reformation also spread in other countries. Switzerland had asserted her religious freedom by Zwingli; Denmark and Sweden abolished the papal authority, and embraced the reformed religion; and though Henry VIII. had earned his title of "Defender of the Faith" by his attacks on Luther, he afterwards acknowledged the spread of the reformation in his dominions by shaking off the control of the pope, and enriching his treasury with the spoils of the monasteries.

The Catholics, however, made one more effort to establish their superiority. In 1529 a second diet was summoned at Spires, where they mustered in great numbers to obtain the repeal of the enactment of the last diet; and they were successful. It was decreed that the Edict of Worms should be observed in all places where it had been executed, the mass re-established, the Catholic subjects of reformed princes should enjoy free toleration, the reformers make no fresh innovations, and explain the Scriptures according to the interpretation of the church. The Lutherans were alarmed at this insidious attempt to overthrow their religion and freedom; and they published their thorough dissent in the remarkable Protest which henceforth procured the name of Protestants for those who separated from the church of Rome. This celebrated document was signed by John elector of Saxony, George margrave of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis dukes of Lunenburg, Philip landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, and by the deputies of fourteen imperial cities.

When Charles had concluded his treaty with the pope, and received the imperial crown at Bologna, he resolved to proceed to Germany, and adopt severe measures against the Protestants. He had long and repeated interviews with his holiness respecting the convocation of a general council to consider the religious state of the empire; but the pope preferred a schism to a council, where his authority would be materially weakened. Charles, therefore, summoned the imperial diet at Augsburg, and stated that it was his intention thoroughly to hear both sides, to correct what was wrong, and to establish peace throughout his dominions. The Protestants



were not deceived by his fair promises; they had already discovered by his past acts the policy he was pursuing; and the princes even proposed to assemble their forces, and demand the recognition of their religion, but were restrained by the counsel of Luther and his clergy. The entrance of Charles into Augsburg was celebrated by a grand mass, which placed the Protestant princes in a very critical position. The Elector of Saxony as grand marshal, had to bear the sword of state before the emperor; and at first he refused to attend, but was persuaded by his ministers to do so on the ground that it was merely a civil duty. He, however, with the landgrave of Hesse refused to bow to the consecrated host, and remained standing while the whole congregation prostrated themselves on the ground.

As the emperor had signified his intention to hear what were the religious sentiments of his people, the protestants embraced the opportunity of presenting to him their confession of faith, which had been drawn up by Melancthon. It consisted of twenty-eight articles, which were divided into three parts:—first, those on general and undisputed points of religion; second, those on which protestants were allowed to differ; thirdly, those respecting the ceremonies in which they totally dissented from the church of Rome. Charles used every endeavour to prevent this document becoming public, but was baffled by the firmness of the protestants; and continuing his apparent moderation he ordered the confession to be examined, and refuted by the catholics. The attempt to reconcile the hostile parties failed, as might have been expected; and Charles resorted to threats and intimidation; and to prevent the escape of the protestant princes, caused the gates of the city to be closed, because the Landgrave of Hesse had secretly departed. The diet, however, jealous of their freedom, strongly remonstrated with him on the infringement of their liberties. His attempt to divide the princes, and to lure them by caresses were also unavailing; and on the 30th of November 1530, he published a decree which ordered all the doctrines and ceremonies of the church to be re-established, the married priests to give up their benefices, and ecclesiastical property to be restored; and threatened the ban of the empire to all the disobedient. Charles thus revealed his true character towards the reformation, and exposed his dissimulation and affected moderation; and that he might give effect to the decree, he requested the electors to appoint his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, by whose presence and aid the church might be restored. The wishes of the sovereign were met by the electors, who with the exception of John of Saxony, chose Ferdinand King on the 5th of January 1531.

The protestants were naturally alarmed at the proceedings of the emperor, and renewed their confederacy; they entered into a secret alliance with France, and received promises of support from the Kings of England, Sweden and Denmark. Both parties prepared for war; but the hostilities were prevented by the intrigues of the French king, and the threatened invasion of the Turks. Charles when in difficulty applied to the princes for succour; but they refused to aid him till he had repealed his late decree; and in August 1532

a truce was settled at Nuremberg, by which the protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, till a general council could be convoked. An attempt was made after the Turks had retired, to set this treaty aside; but the landgrave of Hesse instantly assembled an army, burst into Wirtemberg, and defeated the Austrians; and by the mediation of the elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Saxony, the emperor in 1534 renewed his former compact, and confirmed the protestants in the possession of their liberties, on their recognising Ferdinand king of the Romans, and Wirtemberg a fief of Austria.

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### CHAPTER III.

CHARLES V. (CONTINUED.) A.D. 1532-1558.

THE disgrace which covered the retreat of Solymán from Vienna, prompted the Sultan to make very vigorous efforts to vindicate the honour of his arms. For two years the preparations were made with the greatest energy, and at length he set out with a more numerous army than he had before organised to subdue Hungary and Austria. The progress of this renowned conqueror struck terror into the hearts of all; and Ferdinand, to stay his advance, sent ambassadors with presents to propose a peace. These were haughtily rejected by the Sultan, who continued his ravages till he reached the frontiers of Styria. His advance was for a time stayed by the manful resistance of the town of Guntz, which baffled all his skill and resources, and detained him a month before its walls. In the meantime, the common danger drew all parties together; Charles secured the aid of the Protestants by his treaty in 1532; the pope furnished his contingent; volunteers from all parts poured in; and a select army of 90,000 foot and 30,000 horse, with Charles and Ferdinand at its head, encamped under the walls of Vienna, and awaited the arrival of the foe. The Sultan did not expect to find such a force arrayed against him; and after the resistance he had met with at Guntz, deemed it prudent to withdraw; and in September he led his vast host back, without having accomplished anything worthy of his strength.

After the retreat of the Turks, Ferdinand indulged the hope of being able to secure to himself the possession of the whole of Hungary. He was disappointed in his expectations. The vast army which the presence of the infidels had called into existence, disappeared with its foes; John Zápolya contested the possession with great vigour; and by the mediation of Charles, the treaty of Waradin was signed in 1538 by which John was to retain the title of king with Transylvania; but after his death it was to revert to Ferdinand. John died

in 1540, leaving an only son two weeks old; and Ferdinand claimed the title and possessions in virtue of the treaty and former election. The mother of the young prince Isabella refused, with a mother's tenacity, to give up the prospects of her son; and formed a party among the nobles with Martinuzzi, a celebrated bishop, and the guardian of the young child; who crowned the infant king, and solicited the support of the Sultan. Ferdinand also applied to Solymán, but without effect; and marched an army to Buda; and the town would have fallen into his hands, with the queen and her son, had not the Turkish troops speedily arrived, and defeated the Austrian forces. Solymán employed his interference to aggrandise his dominions; the principal Danubian fortresses fell into his hands; the southern provinces of Hungary were annexed to his empire; and Ferdinand, after many fruitless attempts, was obliged to seek a truce of five years; which was reluctantly granted by the Sultan at the request of the King of France, on condition that he paid an annual tribute to the Porte of 30,000 ducats, A.D. 1545.

During the remainder of the life of Ferdinand, Hungary was the scene of great commotion. The queen and Martinuzzi quarrelled; the latter sided with Ferdinand, and gained great advantages for him, for which he was rewarded with the government of Transylvania; but the appointment of the Spanish general Castaldo to the command of the troops offended him; and to prevent disturbances, he was assassinated by the order of Ferdinand. The house of Austria continued to experience great reverses. Transylvania rebelled against its authority. John Sigismund the young prince placed himself under the protection of the Turks, and demanded the whole of Hungary; and after a long predatory war, Ferdinand concluded a truce with Solymán in 1562 for eight years, and agreed to renew his tribute to the Porte, and not to dispute the possession of Transylvania. The young king, however, refused to agree to the compact; he continued to harass the dominions of Austria, and was but feebly resisted by Ferdinand.

While Ferdinand was thus engaged in the affairs of Hungary, and the Protestant champions were defending and spreading the reformed doctrines, Charles was carrying his victorious arms into Africa and Italy. The celebrated Moorish pirate Barbarossa had filled the maritime coasts with fear by his great successes and barbarities. Charles fitted out an expedition against him, defeated him on the sea, stormed and carried Tunis, where he had strongly fortified his camp, and liberated 20,000 Christian slaves. His contests with the French king were renewed; and though a treaty was signed in 1538 for ten years, it was broken before its expiration. In 1539 he passed over to Flanders, where an insurrection in Ghent demanded his presence; and showed great severity towards the insurgents by executing the principal leaders. In 1542 war again broke out between Francis and Charles, because of the seizure and execution of a Spanish refugee, who was taken by the emperor when passing through Italy to Constantinople to contract an alliance between France and Turkey against Charles. Hostilities commenced,

and were carried on with great spirit and energy. A splendid combined fleet ravaged the coast of Italy; the armies of Charles encountered the French troops in Flanders and Piedmont; and Henry VIII. listened to the supplications of the emperor, crossed the sea with a gallant army of 30,000 men, and laid siege to Boulogne. The King of France became alarmed at these extensive operations, and made overtures for peace, which were not unwelcome to Charles; and the treaty of Crespi was signed in 1544, in which, among other things, it was stipulated that the two sovereigns should use their utmost endeavours to extirpate Protestantism in their dominions. Francis attempted to fulfil his engagement by massacring the Protestants in Cabrieres and Merindol; and Charles resolved to accomplish the same by means of the decrees of the diet.

The Protestants of Germany were prepared to resist the efforts of the emperor. Events had occurred which, while they weakened the power of the Catholics, added strength to the reformed party. The Catholic electors of Brandenburg and the Palatine died, and were succeeded by Protestant princes; and the archbishop and elector of Cologne embraced the reformed doctrines; so that the Protestants were now able to secure a majority in the electoral college. Confident of their strength, they demanded not only full and free toleration, but also a recognition by the state; which was warmly opposed by the Catholics, who were much weakened by divisions and inability. The emperor, therefore, saw the difficulty of the task he had undertaken, and the necessity of uniting the divided, and dividing the united; and to the accomplishment of this, he summoned all the resources of his wisdom, and his duplicity.

Charles obtained the consent of the pope to summon a general council at Trent, to which he urged the Protestants to send their deputies, and to submit to its decrees. The princes had on a former occasion entered into a league at Smalkalde, which Charles now sought to dissolve; and was partly successful. He secured the neutrality of the electors Palatine and Brandenburg; the Dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, and Holstein; and formed a league with Maurice of Saxon Thuringia. He also entered into a treaty with the pope, and stated secretly to him his intention of extirpating the Lutheran religion; which the pontiff incautiously published in a bull, and made known to the Protestants. Charles energetically collected forces from all parts of his dominions, and demanded succours from the pope and Ferdinand; while he endeavoured to deceive the Protestants by fair promises. The fears, however, of the princes were aroused by these hostile preparations, by the disclosures of the pope, and the conduct of the council of Trent; which instead of considering the promised reforms of the church, selected various propositions from the works of Luther, and condemned them. Unable to secure any foreign assistance, they united themselves more closely; and on the 20th of July 1546 published their declaration of hostilities. The forces of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse marched towards the Danube;

and when the cities had furnished their contingents, the allied army mustered 80,000 men, well disciplined and armed.

Charles was at Ratisbon with scarcely 8,000 men, when the confederates were approaching; his succours were far off; and had the enemy rapidly advanced, his capture would have been secure. In this emergency his boldness and courage alone saved him. He hurled the ban of the empire against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse; spread the report that the Duke of Bavaria, in whose dominions he was, would avenge the violation of his territories; fostered divisions among the Protestants; and retired to the stronghold of Landshut, where his succours could reach him. After receiving reinforcements, Charles threw himself into Ingoldstadt, where the allies were unable to attack him; and soon commenced offensive operations, and made himself master of several cities. Meanwhile Maurice burst into the electorate of Saxony, and succeeded in occupying nearly the whole of the dominions. The Protestants divided; the Elector of Saxony hastened to recover his territories; and the rest separated into small parties. This was what Charles desired; and he resolved to avail himself speedily of the opportunity. He pushed forward his army; subdued the chief cities, and obliged them to give up their arms, and receive his garrisons; and in a few weeks was so successful that Saxony and Hesse alone remained unsubdued.

The Protestant cause was reduced to the lowest ebb; and the most gloomy anticipations were indulged. A series of favourable events occurred which re-animated the party. The troops of Ferdinand were discontented, and withdrew from Germany; Maurice had dispersed his army into winter quarters, and was defeated by the Elector of Saxony; who was enabled to recover his possessions, to defeat and take prisoner Albert of Brandenburg, when marching with the succours of the emperor to Maurice; and to force Maurice to sue for peace. The courage of the Protestants revived; a new combination was organised among them; Francis I. gained for them the support of England, Gastavus Vasa, and the Swiss cantons; and the bitter jealousy of the pope was so strong towards the emperor that he recalled his troops into Italy. The two Protestant princes, however, did not at once avail themselves of the turn of their fortune; and the auspicious moment was lost. Francis died; Charles promptly united his forces with those of Ferdinand, and marched against the elector with 35,000 men. He was posted at Meissen behind the Elbe, when the imperial army approached. Indecision marked all his movements; and he hastened towards Wittenberg. The emperor perceived his advantage, and ordered his men to cross the stream near Muhlberg; and with the cavalry and light troops, he forced the elector to retreat towards the woods of Luchau. Both sides contested each step with the greatest bravery; and charge after charge was met and repulsed. The elector, at the head of a chosen band, resolved to cut his way through the enemy; but surrounded by foes, and exhausted with fatigue, he was forced to deliver himself a prisoner to the emperor. He was conducted to

his capital, which was heroically defended by his wife; and she was alone induced to surrender by the threat of Charles to decapitate the elector if the gates were not immediately opened. The emperor made a triumphal entry into Wittenberg, and visited the tomb of Luther, whom death had snatched from the pain of these troublous events; and when urged to dishonour the ashes of the reformer, he replied, "I war not with the dead, but with the living; suffer him to repose in peace; he is already before his judge." Maurice was rewarded with the electoral possessions except Gotha, and with the promise of the electoral dignity.

The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel was terrified at the capture of Saxony, and induced by the mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg and Maurice to submit to the emperor. He agreed to the terms imposed by Charles; to retain his possessions, but demolish his fortresses; to surrender his munitions of war and his prisoners; and to pay a fine of 150,000 crowns; and accepted the suretyship of his mediators that he should not be detained a prisoner. On the 19th of June 1547, the landgrave entered the imperial tent at Halle; the haughty Charles deigned to receive his confession and his allegiance; and smiling contemptuously on his fallen prince, deceived both the landgrave and his mediators by detaining him a close prisoner. To insult his enemies more deeply, and humble the Protestants more extensively, Charles passed through his German states, like a showman, with his two prisoners, publicly to illustrate the prowess of his might, and the hopelessness of the reformed cause.

While thus the arms of the emperor were triumphant, Ferdinand was deeply involved in civil contests in Bohemia. The struggle which had long existed between the Catholics and Calixtins had been hushed by mutual agreement, till the doctrines of the reformation were adopted by the Hussites, who manifested very great sympathy towards the reformers. Ferdinand had aroused their jealousy by several acts; in his zeal to crush Lutheranism, he came into contact with the Calixtins; and he had still further weaned the affections of his subjects from him by declaring the crown hereditary by his marriage with Anne. When Charles marched his forces against the Elector of Saxony, Ferdinand sent a body of Austrian troops, and collected a Bohemian army to aid his brother. The publication of the ban of Charles against the two princes stirred up the spirit of the Bohemians; the troops refused to proceed, or to make war on their brethren of the same faith; though by the entreaty of the emissaries of Ferdinand they were prevailed upon to undertake their march; and they assisted in defeating the electoral troops.

The next year 1547, the king issued a command which excited the greatest indignation throughout Bohemia. It required the Bohemians to send an army to the aid of Maurice, and concluded with the startling announcement, that "all who do not obey these our commands shall, according to the laws of the land, be deprived of their honours, lives and property." The deputies of Prague prepared vigorously to resist this unprecedented act of authority; they presented to Ferdinand their solemn remonstrance; which

drew forth an indignant reply from him. His threats and his appeals to their heroism were alike unavailing; other towns remonstrated in the same manner; and the king found out by experience that pacific measures and entreaties alone would succeed. The deputies of Leutmeritz were moved by his tender appeals; but at Prague the deputies were encouraged to resist more strenuously by the news of the victories of the elector of Saxony over Maurice which had just reached them. Ferdinand ordered his general to demand troops and provisions that he might succour Maurice; but the state refused compliance, sent orders throughout the country to assemble troops and defend Bohemia, and voted a tax to supply the necessary funds. The presence of Maurice and his brother with their troops at Brix increased the anger of the Bohemians towards Ferdinand, and their eagerness to assemble an army. The diet opened at Prague with overwhelming numbers, whose enthusiasm was unbounded. The ambassadors from the emperor commanded them to lay down their arms, and render obedience to their king; but the diet boldly explained their conduct, and prepared to defend their liberties and their country with heroic zeal. The news of the capture of the Elector of Saxony, however, created a panic among the assembly; those who before had declaimed with the eloquence of patriotism, now quitted the imperial city in silence and fear; and the state, with a wonderful versatility, drew up an address of congratulation on the victory, and hastily disbanded their forces.

Ferdinand quitted Wittenberg with a large body of troops. He ordered all deputies under penalty of excommunication to meet him at Prague; and at the head of his army, entered the royal city. A contest took place between his soldiers and some of the burghers, which threatened to plunge the kingdom in a civil war, but the strife was terminated by the wisdom of Ferdinand. The king resolved by a bold and decisive step to crush the spirit of his enemies and curb their freedom. He ordered six hundred of the most distinguished men to repair to his palace; when the gates were closed upon them, and they were detained prisoners. The charges made against them were admitted by them; they threw themselves on the clemency of the king, who commanded them to renounce their confederacy with other states, to give up all their privileges, to surrender their weapons of war except swords, their possessions and their tolls, and to submit to a new tax. They solicited a delay; but no delay could be granted; and trembling for their lives, they ratified the compact; when all but forty of the most dangerous were set at liberty. Ferdinand adopted the same plan with other towns; their burgomasters, councillors, and elders came to the palace, and were imprisoned, till they surrendered their liberties and possessions. A diet was convened at Prague on the 22nd of August 1547, called the Bloody Diet, which confirmed all the deeds of the king; the ammunition and arms were conveyed to Vienna in thirty waggons; the forty prisoners were solemnly brought forth, and eight publicly whipped in the city; Ferdinand declared the dominions hereditary in his family; and in 1562

procured the coronation of his son Maximilian, as his heir. Thus was Bohemia, which for centuries had exerted her strength in the cause of freedom, and maintained an independent spirit, crushed before the rising power of the House of Hapsburg. From this time her prosperity began to decline; her warriors were not nerved by their love of freedom; her towns became less thriving in industry and wealth; and the confidence in her own strength, which gave dignity to her existence, succumbed to a blind reliance on the power which had reduced her, as it had many others, to submission.

When Charles had succeeded by the capture of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse in breaking up the league of Smalkalde, he renewed his efforts to restore the Protestants to the church. He summoned a diet at Augsburg, and induced both parties to send their deputies to a general council; but failed in obtaining the sanction of the pope to renew the Council of Trent, which had been removed to Bologna, that it might be more under papal control. He, however, resolved not to be thwarted in his designs; and employed two Catholic divines and Agricola, the Protestant chaplain of the Elector of Brandenburg, to draw up a formulary of worship, consisting of twenty-six articles, which was called the Interim. It was framed in a very masterly manner, and apparently granted rich concessions to the Protestants; but the expressions employed were so ambiguous and artful, that ample room was left for the exercise of the bitterest oppression. The Interim was submissively passed by the diet, and was submitted to by the majority of the Protestants. The imperial cities boldly resisted its introduction; and Charles was obliged to enforce it by arms. At Augsburg and Ulm the Lutheran magistrates were deposed; Strasburg quietly submitted to his authority; and Constance was reduced and annexed by Ferdinand to the Austrian dominions; but Magdeburg, a strongly fortified city, still held out, as also did Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, with other towns in the north of Germany. Charles was prevented taking more active measures against the insurgents by his affairs in the Netherlands, and by his contests in Italy for Parma and Piacenza, which the church had rapaciously seized; but on the death of the pope, he gained from his successor the possession of Piacenza, and the order for the convocation of a general council at Trent. All things now seemed propitious to his designs. He summoned the diet at Augsburg on the 26th of July 1550, and procured their acquiescence in the decrees of the council, and their support to enforce the acceptance of the Interim. He also appointed Maurice who had been invested with the electorate of Saxony, to the command of the troops to reduce Magdeburg; which, after a siege of ten months, yielded to the skill and bravery, and perhaps to the secret designs, of the general.

The enemies of the empire were thus reduced; and Charles retired to Innspruck to carry out his long-cherished schemes. His hopes, however, were suddenly blighted by the defection of Maurice; who, though apparently promoting the purposes of the emperor,



had been long waiting for an opportunity of throwing off his authority, and rescuing his country from the tyranny of Charles. Several causes urged him to take the bold step. He dreaded the overwhelming influence of the emperor; he saw clearly that the liberties of his country, and the extinction of Protestantism were threatened; and he could not forget how Charles had basely insulted him by retaining his father-in-law, the Landgrave of Hesse, in confinement. He secured the leading Protestants to his side; entered into an alliance with Henry II. of France; and made all his preparations with such secrecy, that neither Charles nor his ministers were aware of his intentions. At length all things were ready; Maurice threw off his mask, united his forces with those of Hesse, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, and appeared with a large army before the gates of Augsburg. He here published proclamations stating that he took up arms to prevent the destruction of the Protestant religion, to rescue the Landgrave of Hesse, and to preserve the liberties of Germany. His allies followed the same mode of appealing to the nation, pushed forward their armies, and captured Mentz and Toul. The arms of Maurice were eminently successful; the cities hailed his appearance as the guardian of their freedom; and soon the Protestants were again triumphant.

Charles was terror-stricken at the rapid progress of Maurice; he sent the few troops he could muster to secure the important passes of the Tyrol; and commissioned his brother Ferdinand to enter into negotiations with him. The confederates refused to listen to, and waste their time by, what they could clearly see was an expedient to gain time; their army stormed and carried the passes which the Austrians defended; and hastened towards Innspruck; where they would have surprised the emperor, but for a mutiny, which broke out among the electoral troops and delayed them. Charles was suffering severely from the gout when the tidings reached him of the near approach of Maurice. He was seized with an inordinate fear; and, throwing open the prison gates of the deposed elector, passed hastily out of the city in a litter, but a few hours before the victorious army entered, and was carried across the mountains in a dark and stormy night to Villach in Carinthia. The imperial residence was sacked; and the cities and towns through which Maurice passed rejected the Interim, and re-established their corporative governments. The situation of the emperor was most critical. The Turks were ravaging Hungary; the French devastating Alsace; his troops in Italy unsuccessful; and Germany in open rebellion. His gloomy condition induced him to listen to the terms of peace dictated by Maurice, and to conclude the celebrated treaty of Passau on the 2nd of August 1552; by which religious freedom was secured to the Protestants, and the landgrave restored to liberty.

Maurice marched against the Turks; and Charles collected a great army to punish the French, and recover the city of Mentz; but success seems to have deserted him. The peace of Passau did not establish tranquillity in Germany. Albert of Brandenburg refused to accept it, and carried on a predatory war with the Catholic

princes ; which Charles not only connived at, but was suspected of encouraging, that amid the civil commotions of the empire, he might procure the transfer of the crown to his son. The imperial chamber issued the ban of the empire against Albert ; who was defeated by Maurice, and driven from the empire by the Duke of Brunswick. This victory was purchased with the loss of Maurice, who received a mortal wound in battle, and shortly after died A.D. 1553.

The diet, which was to confirm the treaty of Passau, was opened on the 5th of February 1555 by Ferdinand, in the absence of the emperor ; and after great discussions and angry disputes on both sides, an act of peace was at length agreed to, and signed by the Catholics and the Protestants. The principal articles decreed that the members of the confession of Augsburg were free from the jurisdiction of the pope, and allowed the unlimited exercise of their religion, where it had already been established ; that all princes were at liberty to tolerate, or prohibit either religion in their dominions, and that the subjects were also at liberty to sell their possessions, and to remove to any other state if they pleased ; that the free cities should enjoy toleration for both religions ; and that the Protestants should be admitted to the imperial chamber, and justice equally dealt out to all. Such was the religious peace which terminated for a time the long and disastrous quarrels of Germany.

The history of this painful struggle affords us a striking instance of the mighty results which flow from the simplest causes, and shows us how beautifully an unseen hand guides all the events, and produces the most beneficial effects. "We\* see a controversy arising from a single and inconsiderable question, and gradually expanding till it embraced all the errors of the church ; we see an obscure monk shaking off the prejudices of his age, profession, and nation, whose very defects of character and temper become instrumental in the promotion of truth ; and though environed with all the terrors of papal and imperial authority yet combatting or averting the threatened dangers by intrepidity and prudence, or escaping from them by instances of good fortune almost miraculous ; we observe the cause of the gospel promoted and strengthened by those who were most interested and inclined to oppose and oppress it. We observe the Reformation secured and established by the same prince who had brought it to the verge of destruction. By the impulse of the same motive we see the kings of France, while they persecuted their own Protestant subjects, consolidating the league for the protection of those in Germany ; the Turks, the enemies of Christendom, contributing to weaken and divide its opponents ; Charles himself stimulated by personal resentment or motives of policy to become the protector of that doctrine which it was the object of his whole reign to depress ; and even the pope himself coming forward at the most dangerous crisis to join in a league against the interests of that church of which he was the head. We observe all these objects accomplished in the midst of contending parties and jarring interests,

and even when the Protestants were divided and actuated with scarcely less antipathy against each other than the Catholics against them. In reviewing all these stupendous revolutions, we cannot but acknowledge the wisdom of Providence making the most opposite circumstances and the most hostile characters contribute to the same end, and turning to the accomplishment of his great purposes the perverseness and caprice of human passions, and the perplexed views of human policy."

Charles, having hushed the contentions of his subjects, now carried out the resolution he had long formed of relinquishing his crowns and dignities, and retiring from the active duties of life. His mother died insane in 1555; from whom he appears to have inherited a constitutional gloom and melancholy, which was greatly increased by the severe attacks of the gout to which he was subject. The check which he had received to his pride in the reverses which lately followed his arms, and in his not being able to procure the imperial crown for his son, disgusted him with regal cares, and hastened the accomplishment of his purpose. He convened the States of the Netherlands at Brussels on the 25th of October 1555; and leaning for support on the Prince of Orange, he solemnly resigned his dominions to his son Philip. He addressed the assembly, and recapitulated the acts of his administration. He told them that ever since the age of seventeen he had devoted all his thoughts and exertions to public objects, and seldom reserved any portion of his time for the indulgence of ease or pleasure. He had visited Germany nine times, Spain six, France four, Italy seven, Flanders ten times, England twice and Africa twice; had made eleven voyages by sea; and had not avoided labour, nor repined under fatigue in the arduous office of governing his extensive dominions. Now, however, his constitution failed him, and his infirmities warned him that it was time to retire from the helm. He was not so fond of reigning as to wish to retain the sceptre with a powerless hand. He gave his son most excellent advice, and told him to respect the laws and liberties of his subjects; and having affectionately embraced him, Charles sat down, exhausted with fatigue, and deeply affected by the tears of the assembly. Two months later, he resigned the crown of Spain to Philip; and on August 7, 1556, he relinquished the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand.

In September the ex-monarch departed for Spain; on landing at Laredo in Biscay, he fell on the ground, and kissed the earth exclaiming, "Naked came I into the world, and naked return I to thee, thou common mother of mankind." He then retired to the convent of St. Justus situated in a most delightful vale near Placentia in Estremadura; where he had apartments prepared for him in the coarsest manner, and where he passed the remainder of his days in cultivating a small garden, constructing curious machines by the aid of Turriano, a celebrated machinist who accompanied him to his retreat, and performing various acts of devotion. Towards the close of his life, his gloomy melancholy settled into an intense religious fanaticism. He shut himself up in his cloisters, and associated with

the monks alone; he chanted hymns, and repeated prayers continually; and mortified his body by severely chastising it with a whip of cords. He even celebrated his own funeral obsequies; a tomb was erected in the middle of the chapel; the procession, with Charles wrapped in his shroud, mournfully advanced towards it; the monarch laid himself in his tomb; and repeated with a hollow sepulchral voice the mass for the repose of his soul. The fatigue and excitement of these ceremonies brought on fever; and on the 21st of September 1558, the mighty Charles V. departed this life in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Charles possessed a character which was resplendent with many virtues, and darkened with many vices. Nature gave him handsome features and a graceful form; which he displayed to advantage by his simple costume, his affable and conciliatory manners, and his noble demeanour. His mind was powerful and commanding, and his mastery over his feelings complete. He was careful and deliberate in maturing his designs; active and bold in executing them. He braved danger with the greatest intrepidity, and increased his exertions when his will was resisted. His ambition was insatiable; his duplicity deep and well concealed; and his pride and contempt for his enemies unbounded. His treatment of the king of France, the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Hesse remains a stain upon his character, which the distinguished talents of this illustrious sovereign cannot obliterate. Though not learned himself, he patronised literary men, and conferred favour and riches upon them; the learned historian Guicciardini was a favourite at his court, and Titian who painted his portrait three times, was loaded with honour and presents. His long reign was beneficial to Germany by the wise regulations he adopted. He remodelled and improved the imperial chamber, imposed a tax for its maintenance, and instituted an annual inspection of its proceedings to remedy abuses, and grant new trials in cases of appeal. He improved also the military service rendered by the states, and instead of personal service instituted a tax of twelve florins a month for a horseman, and four for a foot soldier, which each state was empowered to raise according to the proportion which had been fixed at the first diet of Worms. In 1555 the circles of the empire were united, and a law passed that in case of any disturbance, the states of each circle were to render all necessary aid, and if the force of one circle was insufficient, all the circles were to join in supporting the authority of the imperial chamber, and maintaining public peace. \*

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## CHAPTER IV.

FERDINAND I. A.D. 1558-1564.

THE abdication of Charles placed the electoral princes in a strange and embarrassed situation. He had in vain attempted to procure the

imperial crown for his son Philip, and had deferred his resignation of it until he saw that all his endeavours to gain it for him would be frustrated by his brother. Ferdinand was surprised even at his demand; and though he did not venture to place himself in active opposition to Charles, he found ample opportunities of thwarting his designs. Ferdinand had been chosen King of the Romans by the states, and as such would have succeeded on the death of Charles; but the acceptance of the abdication by the princes was an affair so unusual and difficult, and occupied so much time, that nearly two years elapsed before Ferdinand was proclaimed emperor on the 15th of February, 1558.

His first act was to send an embassy to Rome to announce his accession to the imperial dignity, and to express his desire of receiving the crown from the hands of the pope. The aged pontiff Paul IV. a proud ambitious and overbearing man, who had been greatly offended with Ferdinand for his tolerance towards the Protestants, treated the royal ambassage with contempt. He declared that Charles, as he had received his dignity from him, should have placed his abdication in his hands; and that the nomination of Ferdinand was void, because made by those whom the church had pronounced heretics. He therefore refused to acknowledge the imperial ambassador. Ferdinand saw that this was a fitting opportunity for breaking off a custom which had been commenced in the dark ages, and had been continued more as a mark of respect than as an acknowledgment of authority by the preceding sovereigns. He ordered his ambassador to quit Rome, if within three days, an audience was not granted to him; and the pope alarmed at the decision of the emperor, granted a private interview, and promised to explain his conduct by his nuncio. The princes, however, both Catholic and Protestant, examined thoroughly into the importance of the accustomed journey to Rome, and came to the conclusion that it was unnecessary. When Pius IV. ascended the papal throne, he made overtures to the emperor to bring about a reconciliation, and agreed to acknowledge the imperial title. It was then resolved by the princes, and carried out by all succeeding sovereigns, that in future no emperor should receive the crown from the hands of the pope; and that instead of the customary form in which the emperor elect professed his obedience to the head of the church, a mere complimentary epistle should be substituted; which was adopted when Ferdinand's eldest son Maximilian was chosen King of the Romans, and by all his successors. The expensive journey to Rome, and the dependency of the emperors on the reigning pope, which had produced as we have seen such disastrous wars, were thus obviated, chiefly by the arrogance of the pontiff.

The character which Ferdinand had displayed when Archduke of Austria eminently fitted him to restrain the bigotry of the Catholics, and the stern unbending resolution of the Protestants, now that he had ascended the throne. The empire was externally prosperous. Bohemia enjoyed profound tranquillity; Hungary was feebly resisting the efforts of the Turks and John Sigismund; and for a time war

seemed to be hushed by mutual consent. The reign of Ferdinand as an emperor is, therefore, chiefly distinguished by the wisdom and forbearance with which he sought to mediate between the Catholics and Protestants; and by which he doubtless prevented the horrors and distresses of a fresh religious war. He was aware of the great political importance of union among all parties; though in fact the jealousy existing between the two powerful sects enabled him, by favouring both, to obtain greater support in time of need than would have been furnished by the diet in the usual manner. To effect this union, he exhorted the Protestants at the diet of Augsburg to send deputies to the council of Trent. They however refused to do this unless their divines were acknowledged equal in dignity with those of Rome, and the council were held in some other town either in or near Germany.

Meanwhile the Protestant doctrines spread over the empire, and the neighbouring countries with amazing rapidity. In France they were embraced by parties of all ranks and degrees, and became the bond which united the malcontents against the government, which was supported by the ambitious Guises; while Catherine, who dreaded the power of these dukes, raised Protestants to the high offices of state, to counterbalance their influence. In Spain also, and in the Netherlands the Protestants were increasing, notwithstanding the sanguinary efforts of the Jesuits and the inquisition. The necessity, therefore, for a general council appeared evident to all; and Ferdinand joined France and Spain in demanding the convocation of a new council, and not a mere renewal of that at Trent. He represented to the pope the importance of a reformation in the church, that the schism might be healed; dwelt earnestly on the power and resources of the Protestants; pictured in vivid colours the dangers of a civil war in Christendom; and exhorted the pontiff to permit the marriage of the clergy, and the administration of the communion in both kinds. Pius IV. refused his demands, and unwisely published the emperor's memorial; which had the effect of rendering Ferdinand more popular than ever in Germany, and of conciliating the Protestants towards him. Baffled in his designs, the emperor acceded to the resumption of the council of Trent, and urged the Protestants to take part in its deliberations, and to submit to its decrees. They still declined to compromise their dignity; they sent back the two cardinals with their briefs unopened, and stated that as they did not acknowledge the pope as their father, they could not receive his letters, nor accept the title of sons with which he addressed them.

The celebrated council of Trent, the last effort of the Catholics to restore the Protestants to the bosom of the church, opened its sittings on the 15th of January 1562. This august assembly of divines entangled themselves in endless disputations respecting the various points of doctrine and discipline, to which their attention was directed; but with the exception of the abolition of the office of quaestors, or distributors of indulgences, and a few points of morality among the clergy, no essential reform took place. Ferdinand demanded the administration of the communion in both kinds without

fees, marriage for the clergy, service to be performed in the common tongue, the reformation of the priests and the monks, and the residence of the ecclesiastics. The King of France supported these demands of the emperor; but the assembly refused to grant them, as derogatory to the dignity of the pope; and the council terminated without healing the division of the church; but on the contrary, by re-affirming the faith of the church, it placed an insuperable barrier between the Catholics and Protestants.

Ferdinand had used every endeavour to bring the reformed party into the church. In his hereditary dominions, the Lutheran religion had nearly superseded the Catholic. The churches had passed into their hands; and for twenty years not a single Catholic priest had taken orders at the University of Vienna. The emperor attempted to check the progress of the Reformation; he forbade the circulation of Luther's translation of the Bible, and the preaching of the reformed doctrines; he invited Canisius into Austria, with a train of Jesuits, by whose labours the entire country was saved from becoming a Protestant state. Ferdinand saw that his energetic efforts could not crush the Lutherans, but that the more they were oppressed, the more powerful they became; and hence he earnestly endeavoured to obtain from the council and the pope the indulgence of marriage for the priests, and the administration of the communion in both kinds, that he might prevent a formal separation among his subjects. He urged that in Bohemia the cup had been granted with the consent of the church; that in Hungary the priests had been compelled by the people to administer the sacrament in both kinds; and that in the other states of his dominions, the cup was desired by the Catholics, who would obtain it among the Lutherans, if it was not granted to them by the priests. He urged the marriage of the priests by the notorious fact of their licentiousness; and added, "it would be far more preferable to grant the concession to them than to tolerate such fornication and concubinage." The pope yielded the administration of the cup to the laity, but refused to approve of the marriage of the priests; and to this day this outrage on nature and the laws of God is perpetuated in the Catholic community. Whether Ferdinand would have ultimately succeeded in gaining this point from the pope had his life been longer spared, it is impossible to say; it is certain that his disappointment at his failure was great, and the troubles which he saw hovering over his dominions depressed his mind, and at length brought on a fever, of which he died at Vienna, on the 25th of July 1564 in the sixty-second year of his age.

Ferdinand united in himself the learning of a scholar, the graceful deportment of a courtier, the bravery of a warrior, and the prudence of a statesman. He received his early education in Castille under the care of his grandfather Ferdinand, and made great proficiency in military art and polite literature. The jealousy of Charles removed him to the Netherlands, where his education was completed according to a plan drawn up by the celebrated Erasmus. His handsome features were lit up by his benevolence and his intelligence, and his

mind was enriched with a knowledge of the arts, science, and classic literature. He invited to his court the stars of genius, rewarded the learned Erasmus, and shed a lustre on his domestic circle by his mild and affectionate disposition. His habits were active; and in the accomplishment of his plans he showed great enterprise and vigilance. The assassination of Martinuzzi, and his extreme severity towards the Bohemians stain the reputation which he gained for mildness; though his tolerant treatment of the Protestants, and the efforts which he made to prevent an outbreak of war, indicate his peaceful disposition. He was sincerely attached to the Catholic religion, and laboured to procure the reformation of abuses; and in a document annexed to his will, he piously exhorted his children to be firm in their attachment to the religion of their ancestors. He improved the regulations for the public peace; and instead of the general diets, established diets of deputies which were composed of the electors, and deputies from the other members of the empire. He increased the power of the military governor in each circle, reformed the Aulic council, regulated the coinage of the empire, and decreed that no state should issue money without the bust of the reigning sovereign. Ferdinand was able to secure the election of his son as king of the Romans, of Bohemia, and of Hungary; and to prevent the family contests which had been so disastrous to the house of Hapsburg, he settled by a testament the archduchy of Austria on his eldest son alone and his posterity; while he gave to Ferdinand his second son the Tyrol, and to Charles his third son Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola.

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## CHAPTER V.

MAXIMILIAN II. A.D. 1564-1576.

THE tranquillity which the toleration of Ferdinand had secured to the empire was even increased by the wisdom and moderation of his successor. Maximilian had in early life been influenced by the Lutheran doctrines, which his tutor instilled into his mind; and when he reached the period of manhood, he incurred the resentment of the King of Spain, and his own father on account of his partiality for the Lutherans. To such an extent had this hostility been manifested, that writing to the elector Palatine, he says, "I have so deeply offended my father by maintaining a Lutheran preacher in my service, that I am apprehensive of being expelled as a fugitive, and hope to find an asylum in your court." His accession to the throne was, therefore, feared by the Catholics, and hailed by the Protestants. The one fancied they saw in him their staunch opponent; the other, their future champion. Both, however, were disappointed; for Maximilian soon found that the only means of preserving peace to the



country was by preventing either party gaining the ascendancy, and by conciliating each with timely concessions and moderate rule. His policy was to favour the Protestants by the confirmation of their privileges, and to secure the powerful support of the Catholics by openly professing the faith of that church.

The first diet which Maximilian summoned at Augsburg afforded ample scope for his mediating policy. The religious disputes were carried on with the bitterest acrimony. The Protestants cried out against the oppression of their brethren in Catholic states; the Catholics charged their opponents with having violated the compacts which granted to them toleration. The emperor wisely stepped in between the combatants, and urged them to grant succours against the Turks as their first effort, which they readily acceded to; he then hushed the rising storm by showing to each their foibles, and stating his firm determination to preserve the peace of religion. So confident were all in the good intentions of this sovereign, that they were perfectly satisfied with his promises; and even the pope remitted to him the sum of 50,000 ducats as a subsidy against the Turks. Maximilian carried out the same peaceful policy in the hereditary dominions of the house of Hapsburg. He used every means to obtain permission for the priests to marry; and on his failure, drew out a plan for uniting the two churches. The Protestants, however, were not less opposed to it than the Catholics; and the emperor, while lamenting his want of success, consoled himself with granting to them the full enjoyment of their religion. In Bohemia he promulgated an edict which secured toleration to all dissentients to worship God according to the confession of Augsburg; and in Austria, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the pope, and the ambassador of Spain, he gave the same toleration to the nobles and equestrian order, though he refused to extend it to the towns. To prevent any irregularities, he demanded from the Protestants, a statement of their worship and doctrine and extorted from them a solemn declaration that they would conform to that statement, and not assail the tenets or emoluments of the Catholic church. At the same time he maintained the Catholic religion in all its rights, possessions, and privileges, acknowledged the supremacy of the pope, and professed his attachment to the religion of his father.

The peace of his dominions was disturbed by the Hungarian war. John Sigismund had refused to agree to the truce which Ferdinand had concluded with the Sultan, and continued to harass the Austrian dominions. On the accession of Maximilian, Swendy a distinguished Austrian general marched with a large army against Sigismund, drove him from the places he had captured, and conquered Tokay and other towns. The emperor sent ambassadors to Solyman, and requested the continuance of the armistice which had been concluded with his father. The Sultan dictated such dishonourable terms that they could not be accepted, and prepared to invade Hungary. Maximilian solicited succours from the diet; and such was his popularity among all parties that he was enabled to equip three powerful armies, and send them into the field. Swendy watched on the banks of the

Teiss the proceedings of Transylvania; the archduke Charles secured Illyria; while a gallant army of 80,000 men commanded by Maximilian encamped near Raab. Early in the spring of 1566 Solymán advanced in proud confidence at the head of a numerous host. His triumphant march to the walls of Vienna, as he boldly declared was his intention, was stopped by the bravery of the little fortified town of Ziget. It was situated in the midst of a marsh, and defended by merely 1,500 men. The Turks formed roads across the swamps, raised enormous earthbanks for batteries, assailed the walls with embittered fierceness, and twenty times were gallantly repulsed by the defenders. Thirty-four days passed before they became masters of the place; the Count Zimri, and his brave garrison died rather than survive even an honourable defeat; the Turks lost 20,000 men, and the Sultan himself died of a fever occasioned by fatigue and the pestilential air of the place. The new sultan Selim recalled his army; and Maximilian strengthened his fortresses and left Swendy to carry on operations against Sigismund, whom he defeated, and gained possession of the fortress of Mongatz. The offers of peace which the emperor sent to Constantinople were this time accepted; and an armistice was concluded on the stipulation that both parties should retain possession of the territories they held. John Sigismund rejected the terms of peace, and continued the war; but the power of Maximilian humbled him, and he was forced to agree to the conditions of the emperor. He relinquished the title of king of Hungary to Maximilian, acknowledged him as his master, and was allowed to retain the countries of Bihar, and Marmarosch, with Crasna and Zohnok, besides the hereditary possession of Transylvania. When Sigismund died in 1571 his possessions in Hungary reverted to the emperor, and the diet of Transylvania selected Stephen Bathori, the general and minister of the late prince. Maximilian confirmed the choice, and enjoyed the friendship of the new waivode. The Catholic party often urged the emperor to break his treaty with the Turks; but he refused to violate his oath, and taught the papal hierarchy a salutary lesson by observing, "The faith of treaties ought to be considered as inviolable; and a Christian can never be justified in breaking an oath."

While the emperor was firm in his resolution to uphold Catholicism, and to favour also the Lutherans, he was anxious to preserve the tranquility of the states by checking the divisions which were numerous among the Protestants, and which often excited the bitterest rancour, and provoked hostilities. The Calvinists and the Lutherans had for years been opposed; they attacked each other with a violence peculiar to theological hatred; and when they had the power they rigorously persecuted the zealous upholders of the opposing dogmas. Frederick, the elector Palatine, embraced the Calvinistic form of worship and doctrine. He expelled the Lutheran priests, persecuted their adherents with unrelenting fury, and published the celebrated catechism of Heidelberg, as the standard of belief and worship. The Lutherans viewed him as their implacable enemy; and the Catholics increased their hatred, and provoked

their opposition by demanding in a public diet whether the Lutherans considered the elector a member of their body. This question greatly embarrassed them. They feared either horn of the dilemma; for if they renounced him, they would lose the support of the reformed churches in France and Switzerland, and if they acknowledged him, they would condemn themselves by their late opposition to his tenets and practices. The emperor quickly perceived the difficulty in which they were placed; and to prevent the triumph of one party, came to the relief of the distressed. He refused to condemn the elector; but at the same time to satisfy the Catholics and the strict Lutherans, he caused the diet to pass a decree, that no toleration should be allowed except to the Catholics and the members of the Confession of Augsburg. The Calvinists were thus allowed, without renouncing their own creed, to shelter themselves under this Confession; the demands of all parties were granted; and a religious war was prevented by the wisdom of the emperor.

In the reign of Maximilian there were few events to disturb the peace of the empire. During the predatory wars of Albert of Brandenburg, William of Grumbach, a Franconian noble, had extorted large sums of money and a valuable territory from the bishop of Wurtzburg as a reward for preserving his dominions from the ravages of the plunderers. Charles V. cancelled the agreement, and declared the noble an outlaw, because he invaded the possessions of the bishop. The bishop was assassinated by Grumbach; and his successor was forced by an armed band to agree to indemnify William for the loss of his property, to screen the murderers of his predecessor from justice, and to assist the outlaw in his plans. The Government, however, interfered on behalf of the public peace; and the ban of the empire was issued against the refractory noble. He took refuge with John Frederick of Saxe Gotha, son of the expelled elector, who refused to give him up to justice. Grumbach soon obtained a powerful influence over this prince; he represented to him that the princes and nobles were ready to revolt against the house of Austria, and that the Queen of England would warmly assist them; and urged him to assert his rights and regain his electoral dignity and possessions. The credulous prince was easily swayed by these representations; his weak mind was wrought upon by superstition, and cunningly devised stratagems; the plan of revolt was drawn up; and at length Grumbach appealed to the equestrian order throughout Germany to rise against the emperor. Maximilian deemed it necessary to resort to stern measures. In the diet at Augsburg 1566, the ban of the empire was published against Grumbach and all his protectors and adherents, and the execution of it entrusted to Augustus, son of Maurice elector of Saxony. All peaceful efforts to induce John Frederick to give up Grumbach were rendered fruitless by his infatuation; and Augustus at the head of a large army laid siege to Gotha. The garrison refused to spill their blood for such a prince, and surrendered; Grumbach and some of his associates were executed, and Frederick

was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, which was shared in by his devoted wife Elizabeth till he died, after a confinement of twenty-eight years.

Maximilian was greatly embarrassed by the entreaties of the Teutonic knights to recover Prussia and Livonia which had been wrested from their order; who to give weight to their demands, pleaded the engagement which the emperors made at their election to recover the dismembered fiefs. Albert of Brandenburg had obtained Eastern Prussia, had raised it to the dignity of a duchy, and had embraced the Lutheran religion. Charles V. issued the ban of the empire against him, but the religious troubles prevented its execution; the grand master of the order had often solicited the states to enforce it, but without effect; and in 1570 at the diet at Spire, he renewed the demands of the order. Maximilian clearly perceived that to do so would only involve the empire in a religious war, as the duke would be supported by the Protestant princes; still he was anxious to preserve the honour of the crown. He therefore induced the knights to suspend hostilities for the present, with the promise that he would use all endeavours to secure the dismembered fiefs. Livonia was another province which had been severed from the Teutonic knights. It had been purchased from Albert of Brandenburg by Walter of Plettenburg, whose successors were unable to retain possession of it. The Russians, Poles, Danes, and Swedes successively entered it, and the order applied to Maximilian to support them against the Russians. The emperor, however, was anxious to secure the crown of Poland, in which Russia was able to afford him great assistance; and instead of demanding from the czar the restitution of the conquests he had made in Livonia, he sent an embassy to contract an alliance with him against the Turks, and to implore his support in obtaining the crown of Poland.

The emperor was also threatened with a contest with the pope. The Duke of Ferrara, and Cosmo di Medici duke of Florence quarrelled; Cosmo appealed to the pope, Ferrara to the emperor; and the pope agreed that Maximilian should decide not as emperor, but merely as an arbitrator. This the emperor refused; and the pope insulted the imperial dignity by settling the dispute without his consent. Austrian ambassadors were despatched to remonstrate with his holiness, and were refused an audience; and the quarrel would have become serious, had not the death of Cosmo prevented it. His son Francis Maria purchased the favour of the emperor, by marrying his sister Joanna. These events, however, hardly cast a shade over the peaceful condition of the empire.

The state of Germany during the reign of Maximilian presents a striking contrast to the state of the neighbouring nations. France was agitated by religious dissensions, and devastated by civil war. The Protestants had wonderfully increased in number and influence, and were able to withstand the domination of the Catholics. The regent of the youthful king, Catherine de Medici, followed the doubtful policy of opposing one party to the other, and establishing

her own power by means of each. The Huguenots had been very successful in their exploits; and Catherine, no longer dreading their opponents, concerted with Spain a plan for the extermination of heresy. The Protestants again flew to arms; the young King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and Admiral Coligni placed themselves at their head; and Elizabeth of England secretly aided them. The Duke of Guise was the head of the Catholics, who were supported by the Spanish king; and German mercenaries appear to have acted on both sides. The Catholics were unable to conquer their opponents by arms, and resorted to the most despicable treachery. A vast conspiracy was formed, which has scarcely a parallel in history. Charles king of France proposed a marriage with the king of Navarre, and invited all the leading Protestants to Paris to celebrate it. Unsuspecting any danger they came, and were received by the king and queen-mother with smiles and distinguished courtesy. The festivities were on the most splendid scale, and the rejoicings were unbounded; when on the eve of St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1572, the bloody massacre of the Protestants commenced by the order of the king. No rank was spared; in Paris alone 500 of the nobility with Coligni perished; and it is computed that not less than 100,000 Protestants were sacrificed throughout the kingdom. The Protestants in every country of Europe were aroused, and thrilled with a burning indignation; the oppressed, instead of shrinking before their cowardly foes, rose with renewed zeal, and dictated to their murderers a peace which suspended for a short time the fierce contest. Maximilian was very indignant at such a scandalous outrage on justice, and publicly expressed his disgust at the bloody proceedings. He attempted to prevent German troops taking part, and proposed to the diet an act to forbid their enrolment in foreign service, but the state refused to pass it, though they established regulations to prevent any disorders which might arise from their passage or disbandment.

The contests which were raging in the Netherlands threatened the peace of Germany, and to involve Maximilian in a war as a prince of the house of Austria. The Netherlands had grown extremely wealthy; their cities were flourishing under municipal governments, and had early embraced the reformed doctrines; which they adhered to with a tenacity which resisted all the efforts of Charles V. to induce them to relinquish them. His son Philip viewed with horror the progress of the Protestant religion, and resolved to suppress it by means of the Inquisition. He was vigorously resisted by the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and all ranks of the people; but the resistance he met with only quickened his thirst for revenge and bloodshed. He dispatched an army under the duke of Alva, a distinguished general, a bigoted Catholic, a cruel blood-thirsty man. His entrance into the country was the commencement of her sorrows. The governments were abolished and an infernal tribunal established, by which the claims of life and property, rank and sex were disregarded. Counts Egmont and Horn were brought to the scaffold; the land was deluged with

blood; nothing was heard but lamentation, and cries of despair, nothing seen but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death. William prince of Orange, fled to Germany; and, assisted by many princes and imperial cities, sent an army against Alva, which after a few trifling successes, was obliged to retire. Maximilian favoured the oppressed; he sent his son Charles to Spain to exhort Philip to stay his sanguinary proceedings; but the bigot refused to listen to him, and sternly demanded the expulsion of the prince of Orange. The tyranny of the Spanish at length aroused the spirit of the people. A body of privateers seized the port of Brille the key of Holland, and captured the Spanish vessels; the neighbouring provinces rose and expelled the Spanish garrisons; the prince of Orange animated and directed the revolution by his zeal and courage; and Holland and Zealand shook off the yoke of Spain. The power of Alva began to decline; his appeals were unheeded, his armies conquered, his fleets destroyed; and to save the renown of his name, he intreated Philip to recall him. His successor Requesens was not more successful; the Dutch heroically endured famine and distress rather than yield; and Philip turned to the mediation of Maximilian to procure a peace. The atrocities of the Spanish troops, and the unbending spirit of the insurgents caused the efforts of the emperor to be fruitless; and the war raged with great fury. At length Maximilian was again called in to mediate; and on the 8th of November 1576 the treaty of Ghent was signed, by which it was agreed that all the provinces except Luxemburg should unite to expel the foreign troops, that the ancient constitution should be re-established, the edicts against Protestants be suspended, and things be restored to the condition they were in before Alva entered the country. This treaty, however, did not long continue in force. Don John of Austria, a celebrated natural son of Charles V. was appointed governor, and violated the peace. The natives rose, and chose Matthias third son of Maximilian, whom the prince of Orange joined. Don John was assisted by the duke of Parma, who, after his death, carried on the war with great success. Matthias retired; and the state conferred the sovereignty on the duke of Anjou, who being disappointed in his hope of succour from France and England, also retired. The Prince of Orange was massacred, and his son Maurice recovered the northern states which he formed into the republic of the Seven United Provinces. The youngest son of Maximilian, Albert who had married Isabella daughter of Philip II., was appointed by Spain to the sovereignty of the Netherlands. The princes, however, refused to acknowledge him; and the war was carried on with alternate success. Albert was enabled to subdue the southern provinces called the Austrian Netherlands; but the genius and resources of Maurice enabled the United Provinces to hold out; and at length Spain was obliged to enter into a treaty with, and acknowledge the independence of Holland A.D. 1609.

The health of Maximilian, never very robust, had been rapidly declining; and he employed his remaining days in securing his dignities to his son. In 1572 he procured the crown of Hungary for

his eldest son Rudolph; three years after he obtained the consent of the diet at Prague to acknowledge him the king of Bohemia; and that same year the electors at the entreaty of the emperor proclaimed Rudolph king of the Romans. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to secure the crown of Poland, which, though it was offered to him by a large party of nobles, was ultimately secured by Stephen Bathori waivode of Transylvania. A Polish war was alone prevented by the death of the emperor which took place at Ratisbon on the 12th of October 1576.

The ruling principle in the character of Maximilian was the desire for the preservation of peace. Though by no means deficient in courage and warlike talents, he carefully preserved the tranquillity of the empire, and employed his strictest impartiality, his unbounded toleration, and his practical wisdom to secure that desirable object. He was a man of great ability; regular in his habits, gentlemanly in his deportment, affectionate and tender to his family. He spoke fluently the languages of his subjects, and conciliated them by his moderation, his justice, and his amiable qualities. The testimony of the Bohemian ambassadors gives us a fair picture of his character. "We Bohemians are as happy under his government as if he were our father; our privileges, our laws, our rights, liberties, and usages are protected, maintained, defended, and confirmed. No less just than wise, he confers the offices and dignities of the kingdom only on natives of rank, and is not influenced by favour or artifice. He introduces no innovations contrary to our immunities; and when the great expenses he incurs for the good of Christendom render contributions necessary, he levies them without violence, and with the approbation of the states. He listens even to the meanest of his subjects, readily receives their petitions, and renders impartial justice to all."

## CHAPTER VI.

RUDOLPH II. A.D. 1576-1612.

THE peaceful state which the moderation of the late emperor had preserved, was broken up by the strife of the reformed parties among themselves, the influence of the Jesuits, and the intolerance of the new emperor. Between the Calvinists and the Lutherans the most deadly hatred existed, which even their common danger did not moderate. Instead of uniting on those points in which they were agreed, they dwelt only upon their differences; and delighted to see each other successively persecuted by the Catholics, when their union would have enabled them to disarm oppression. The chief Calvinistic supporter in the empire was the Elector Palatine, who

energetically freed his dominions from the Lutheran religion; but his son professed the doctrines of Luther, and reinstated it; though Calvinism was again restored by the regent of his son, John Casimir. The Electorate of Saxony was also disturbed by similar changes. Maurice and Augustus were Lutherans; but Christian I. introduced the Calvinistic system, which on his death was superseded by the Lutheran. Thus the principle which had been affirmed by former diets, *cujus regio, ejus religio*, produced the most disastrous results; and the Jesuits clearly perceived that the emperor could act upon this principle, and make his religion binding upon all his subjects.

The Jesuits had widely extended themselves over the empire. The work of education was chiefly in their hands. They occupied the professor's chair, the principal offices of state, and the most commanding pulpits; and by their begging monks, the Capuchins, exerted a great influence upon the people. Their labours were prodigious, their zeal indefatigable, and their success equal to their efforts. They possessed great power over the mind of Rudolph. From the age of twelve he had been brought up in the court at Madrid; where he was so disciplined by the Jesuits, that they might afterwards control him, whether he occupied the throne of Spain, or the imperial seat in Germany. His mind was filled with superstitious gloom, which was deepened by his love of alchemy and astrology, craftily fostered by his instructors. He imitated his ancestor Frederick III., and paid great attention to his favourite pursuits, while he allowed his empire to be directed by his advisers.

His first effort was directed towards the Protestants at Vienna. They had rapidly increased under Maximilian. The Protestant worship had been confined to the nobles and equestrian orders; but the burghers contrived to attend their celebration of divine service. The preachers, encouraged by his moderation, had in their zeal so vehemently attacked the church, that even Maximilian was obliged to interfere. Rudolph confirmed the privileges granted to the nobles and equestrians, but forbade the burghers to attend the Lutheran worship. The state at Vienna regarded this as a restriction on their freedom, and refused to obey the mandate of the emperor. Influenced by his Jesuitical advisers, Rudolph determined to restore the Catholic worship. He expelled the preachers he had deposed, shut up many churches in the neighbourhood of Vienna, placed Catholics in the public offices, imposed Catholic oaths on professors, schoolmasters, and town clerks, and invited the Catholic prelates to take their seats in the diet. The peasants broke out in open rebellion, which the activity of the emperor speedily quelled; and the outbreak was made the pretext for suppressing the Protestant religion throughout his dominions.

Rudolph availed himself of the dissensions among the Protestants to further the spread of the Catholic worship. The great progress of Calvinism induced the Lutherans to drive them from the shelter they had found in times of persecution under the Confession of Augsburg. They drew up a creed from the Confession, and the Lutheran Catechism, which was called the Book of Concord, and



was signed by the Electors Palatine, Saxony, and Brandenburg, twenty-two princes, twenty-two counts, and thirty-five imperial towns. This became the standard of their religion, and was introduced into all their dominions; and all priests and schoolmasters were ordered to assent to it under the penalty of instant dismissal. John Casimir endeavoured to prevent the publication of this creed, in which he was assisted by the Calvinists generally; and the breach between the sects soon became irreparable. The Jesuits advised Rudolph to take advantage of these dissensions. They urged that the religious peace was virtually abrogated; that the treaty under which the Protestants enjoyed it could not apply to the Calvinists, because the Lutherans refused to acknowledge them as brethren; nor could it apply to the Lutherans now, because they had deserted the Confession of Augsburg, which was the basis of peace, and had adopted a new standard.

The Protestants had appropriated several prelacies, because of the change of opinions among the respective chapters; and the Jesuits eagerly made that another pretext for interfering. The Electorate of Cologne furnished a remarkable example. Salentine, Count of Isenberg, married and consequently resigned his preferment; and Gerard, count of Truchses was chosen in opposition to Frederiek of Saxe Lauenburg. He was a young man of strong passions; and beholding one day from his balcony the Countess of Mansfeld a very beautiful woman, in a proceession, he became deeply enamoured of her. He sought her presence, and inspired her with a similar passion towards him by his youth, beauty, and rank. The Counts of Mansfeld heard of the connexion of their sister with him, and exhorted him to save her honour by marriage. He abjured his religion married his mistress, and embraced the Calvinistic tenets. The Catholics, with Frederick his rival at their head, denounced him, the pope excommunicated him, the Lutherans stood aloof, and the citizens flew to arms. A civil war ensued. The chapter raised Ernest of Bavaria to the electoral dignity, who, assisted by his brother the Duke of Bavaria, drove the recreant elector out of his dominions, and abolished the Protestant worship. Gerard fled to William prince of Orange, and not meeting with succour there, sent his wife over to Elizabeth in England; but the jealous princess banished her from the country, because of her frequent interviews with her favourite Essex. He died in retirement at Strasburg A.D. 1601.

These contests were not confined to Cologne; Strasburg was also ravaged by the troops of the contending parties. Three of the Protestant canons of Cologne held stalls in Strasburg; and when deposed from the former, retired to the latter. The Catholics refused to receive them, and they seized on their revenues. The magistrates sided with the Protestants, and declined enforcing the imperial injunction to deprive the Protestants of their houses and revenues. When the bishop died in 1592, the Protestants elected John George margrave of Brandenburg, and the Catholics elected Charles son of the Duke of Lorraine. Both parties levied troops;

John George took possession of two of the strongest fortresses, while Charles with a large army determined to support his election. The hostilities raged with great energy on both sides, as they each possessed powerful supporters; and in 1593 the emperor persuaded them to refer their disputes to arbitration; but the struggle was maintained till 1604 when it was settled by the mediation of the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Margrave of Brandenburg resigned his dignity for a pension of 10,000 florins; Charles was installed into his office; and the canons were allowed to retain what they possessed. Thus once more the Catholics gained an advantage.

The Calvinists were united in a firm league by Frederick IV. elector Palatine; and when the emperor summoned the diet to demand succours against the Turks, they resolutely refused to grant them until their grievances had been redressed. They were unable to gain the support of the Lutherans, yet they contrived to increase and strengthen their union; and being supported by Henry IV. the French king, they formed in 1603 the celebrated defensive and offensive alliance of Heidelberg. They engaged to defend their civil and religious rights, and to resist the unjust jurisdiction of the Aulic council, which had been filled with Catholics. Their plans were drawn out, organisations formed, and their contingents in men and money specified. The Lutheran Duke of Wirtemberg, the electoral Count of Saxony, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg still kept aloof; nor could all the efforts of the French king induce them to join the alliance.

The imperial court was stimulated to still greater intolerance towards the Protestants, by the influence of Spain and the zeal of the Jesuits. Austria had been bitterly oppressed; gallows were erected in all parts for the destruction of the heretics; churches were destroyed, or filled with Catholic preachers; and even the dead were torn from their graves, and left horribly exposed. Rudolph resolved to accomplish the same work in Bohemia. He awakened the terrible resentment of his subjects by forbidding all meetings of Calvinists or Lutherans, and by declaring them incapable of holding any public office. He also curtailed the liberty of the Calixtins, and attempted to drive them into the Catholic church. The troubles caused by these rigorous proceedings were great. The Aulic council usurped the authority of the diet, and issued the ban of the empire against Aix la Chapelle, where the Protestants were numerous. The execution of it was entrusted to the Duke of Juliers, and the Bishop of Liege; who took possession of the place, expelled the Protestants, and restored the Catholic worship. Donawerth also was deprived of its rights as an imperial city by this council. The Catholics here were very few; they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, but were not allowed to make public processions with their forms and ceremonies. The changes which had taken place in the council and the court induced the abbot of the convent of Donawerth to extort from the town the permission to have public processions. On the 16th of May 1605 a procession with torches, colours, and the host appeared in the streets, and was stopped by the magistrates. The

Bishop of Wurtzburg complained of this to the Aulic council, which immediately called the magistrates to account for their conduct, who justified their interference by referring to the privileges of the city. Meanwhile the procession again issued forth from the gates of the convent; and on its return was assailed by the populace, who demolished the pageants, and drove back the frightened friars through the mud to their cloisters. The ban of the empire was issued by the Aulic council, and the execution entrusted to the Duke of Bavaria, a rigorous Catholic. He marched against the city, took possession of it in the name of the emperor, degraded it to the position of a provincial town, and abolished the Protestant religion. The Protestants were aroused by the illegal proceedings of the council; and justly complained that the execution of the decree had been illegally entrusted to the Duke of Bavaria, as the Duke of Wirtemberg was the governor of the circle of Swabia, in which the town was situated. They strengthened their union; and when the emperor summoned the diet at Ratisbon A.D. 1608, they refused to grant him supplies, and declared they would take no share in the deliberations of the diet till the Aulic council was revised, and Protestants admitted to it, Donawerth restored to the enjoyment of its liberties, and Protestantism re-established. The diet was agitated by the most violent storms, and separated without considering any of the affairs proposed. The Protestants assumed a more warlike attitude; they established their confederacy for ten years, and appointed the Elector Palatine chief, and Christian of Anhalt, and the Margrave of Baden Durlach their generals.

While thus the aspect of things at home was gradually becoming more menacing, the emperor was deprived of the greater portion of his dominions in Hungary by the intolerance of his generals. To secure the frontiers against the Turks, he ceded Croatia to his uncle Charles duke of Styria, who erected the important fortress of Carlstadt which afterwards became the capital of the country; and formed military colonies by conferring grants of land on freebooters of all descriptions, who, under the name of Croats, afterwards struck such terror into Europe. The Uscocks, a wild robber-tribe in Dalmatia, were driven out by the Turks, and settled at Senga in Croatia on the sea coast; where, being joined by banditti and privateers, they plundered the vessels of the Adriatic without distinction. Venice attempted to displace them; and the Turks resolved to endure their predatory incursions no longer. The sultan Amurath broke the treaty which he had renewed with Rudolf in 1591, and permitted the Bashaw of Bosnia to make an irruption into Croatia, for the purpose of extirpating these robbers. The Austrians summoned their forces at Carlstadt, attacked the Turks, and defeated them with the loss of 12,000 men. Amurath in revenge poured his hordes into Hungary and Croatia, and for two years carried on a destructive war with various success, and obtained possession of Sisech and Raab. In 1595 the Prince of Transylvania, nephew to the King of Poland, threw off the yoke of the Turks, and entered into an alliance with Austria. The successor of Amurath,

Mohammed, placed himself at the head of his army to restore the dignity of the Porte, and defeated the Austrians under the Archduke Maximilian. The lateness of the season prevented him entering into Austria and Upper Hungary, and his generals the next year secured no great advantages.

Meanwhile Sigismund prince of Transylvania yielded his province to the emperor in return for the lordships of Ratibor and Opelen in Silesia with an annual pension. When, however, Rudolf was on the point of taking possession, Sigismund reappeared, and assumed the government; but being disgusted with the conduct of the Turks, he resigned it to his uncle Andrew, bishop of Wermia. He did not long enjoy his dignity. Michael waivode of Wallachia united with Basta the Austrian general, and defeated and killed Andrew. The two generals quarrelled; Sigismund appeared again, and received the support of his subjects; but, being defeated by Basta with a great loss, he retired to Bohemia; and Basta took possession of the country. His cruel and despotic government aroused the nobles. Tzekeli a powerful noble was raised to the throne, but was defeated and killed by the Waivode of Wallachia, and Basta recovered the principality A.D. 1603.

Hungary was annually devastated by Austrian and Turkish troops. The subjects were disaffected towards Rudolph, because of his intolerance, and unconcern for the prosperity of the country. He issued severe edicts against the Protestants, confiscated their estates, allowed the governors of the towns to oppress and insult the inhabitants, and refused to receive any statement of their grievances, or to afford them any redress. The disaffection spread fiercely over Upper Hungary. The state ordered their principal noble Botskai uncle of the King of Poland to repair to Prague, where Rudolph resided, and represent to him their sad condition; but the insults he received from the court only increased the wounded feelings of the people. The standard of revolt was raised, and vast numbers flocked to it; the foot soldiers deserted the imperial ranks; and the Austrian generals were defeated. Transylvania groaned under the oppression of Basta. The country was full of desolation. Towns and villages were depopulated; the plains and fields were uncultivated; corn realised the most extravagant prices; horses were used for food; and the people were even "driven to the tombs to seek a wretched sustenance from the putrid bodies of their fellow-creatures!" As the result, famine and pestilence destroyed more than the sword. Botskai entered Transylvania; and being assisted by a Turkish army, succeeded in driving out the Austrians. He continued his vigorous efforts, and before long conquered Upper Hungary almost to the walls of Presburg, and threatened the frontiers of Austria and Styria. Such was the deplorable condition to which the incompetency and the bitter intolerance of Rudolph had reduced that country, which had enjoyed comparative prosperity under the mild government of Ferdinand and Maximilian.

The state of the empire demanded energetic steps to be taken to prevent the bursting of the storm which was gathering on all sides.

Rudolph had resigned himself to the most stolid indifference. He had buried himself in his favourite pursuits. Alchemy exerted its magical influence over him; and the prognostication of the celebrated Tycho Brahe that he should die by the hand of his own family, filled his mind with gloom. He refused to marry; and the dread of assassination was so powerful, that he never appeared in public, not even in church. His windows were encased, and his garden protected to screen his person. He passed the whole of his time in his dark studies, and amid his various artificers. He was so irritable and impatient, that no one could approach him; he abandoned himself to his mistresses, and resigned the government to his ministers and generals; and refused to be disturbed either by foreign ambassadors, or the deputies of his people. The court of Spain alone had great influence over him; and he was reduced to the degraded position of her slavish tool.

Matthias, brother to the emperor, beheld with indignation the situation of Rudolph, and resolved to avail himself of it to further his own interests. He was very different in his character and his habits from his brother. His mind was uncontrolled by the Jesuits, and his delight in warlike enterprise rendered him active and skilful. He was ambitious and restless. He shared for a time the dignity of Chief of the Netherlands with the Prince of Orange; and retired with the best thanks of the state for his services. He lived for a few years at Lintz in the deepest poverty, neglected by Rudolph, till the Turkish war compelled the emperor to solicit his military assistance. On the death of his brother Ernest, he became the heir presumptive to Rudolph, and was appointed governor of Austria and Hungary. He lamented the miserable rule of the emperor, and felt keenly the mortification to which he was necessarily subjected. With great prudence and wisdom he formed his plans to render the crisis which was fast approaching favourable to himself. He softened the rigour of Rudolph's oppressions, conciliated the Catholics, won the Protestants by professing the toleration of his father, and rose rapidly in the estimation of all the people. The members of Rudolph's family were anxious to secure themselves from the disgrace he had brought upon them; and on the 26th of April 1606, Matthias, his brother Maximilian, and his cousins Ferdinand and Maximilian Ernest entered into a compact, by which they declared Matthias head of their house, and engaged to support him by their counsel and assistance. So evident was the incapacity of the emperor, that even the bigotted Archduke Albert of the Netherlands confirmed the compact. Matthias deemed it prudent to secure the peace of Hungary before he publicly declared his intentions. He concluded a treaty at Vienna with Botskai, by which he was to retain Transylvania with the entire district of Hungary beyond the Teiss, the fortresses of Tokay and Zatmar, and the two provinces of Bereg and Ugotz as an hereditary sovereignty; though it was to revert to Austria in case of a failure of heirs. He pacified Hungary by granting free toleration to the Protestants, and opening to them civil offices; and he also concluded an honourable truce with the Sultan for twenty years.

Rudolph became aware of the intentions of Matthias by the arrest of a person who was carrying a copy of the family compact to the united Protestant princes. He refused to sign the treaty of Vienna, and endeavoured to excite the bitter feelings of the states against Matthias, by setting forth all his acts of disobedience, and by charging him with procuring the disasters of the Protestants, and a dishonourable peace with the Turks. When the compact of the archdukes was discovered, the princes tremblingly renounced their agreement; and to secure the favour of Rudolph, unfolded the designs of Matthias. Disturbances in Hungary, however, furnished the ambitious prince with a pretext for raising an army; and he entered upon the accomplishment of his plans with the greatest celerity compatible with security. He assembled the Hungarian states at Presburg in February 1608; and having confirmed their civil and religious privileges, easily obtained from them a ratification of the peace of Vienna, and persuaded them to enter into a confederacy with the Austrian deputies; by which they bound themselves to resist all who should hinder the execution of the peace, and who should injure or attack any member of the league. He obtained from the states at Vienna their consent to the confederacy of Presburg, and a grant of money to subdue the discontented in Hungary; and he secured by means of the Protestants, whom he greatly favoured, the consent of the states of Moravia to the confederacy.

Rudolph was now awakened and alarmed; he sent an army into Moravia, whose excesses greatly incensed the inhabitants; and promised to ratify the peace of Vienna, if his brother would dissolve the confederacy of Presburg, and renounce the family compact. But Matthias was prepared to carry out his scheme. At the head of 10,000 men he suddenly quitted Vienna, and repaired to Znaim, where the Moravian states were assembled. He here reinforced his army and marched on to Czaslau in Bohemia; and having summoned the states, declared to them his intention of demanding the government of Hungary, Austria, and Bohemia; and proceeded immediately towards Prague. Rudolph was drawn from his concealment in his palace, and hastily summoned the states. The assembly was crowded, perhaps by curiosity to see the emperor; for he had been so long shut up in his palace, that some were sceptical as to whether he really existed. The Protestants composed the majority, and demanded from Rudolph a general toleration, and the re-establishment of their civil and religious privileges. The emperor hesitated; the ambassadors of Matthias appeared; the Protestants requested an immediate answer; and Rudolph tremblingly yielded to their demands. The populace rose in favour of the crown; and in a few days Rudolph was master of an army of 36,000 men. Matthias drew nearer to the town every hour; Rudolph was unnerved by his difficulties; and proposed a negotiation with Matthias, which was accepted; and at length he agreed to surrender to him Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, to confirm the treaty of Vienna, and to confer on him the title of King elect of Bohemia. Matthias returned exultingly to Vienna, bearing with him the crown and regalia of Hungary A.D. 1608.

He experienced more difficulty in gaining the allegiance of his subjects than his title to the crowns. The Protestants in Austria refused to acknowledge him, till he had re-established the toleration which Rudolph had abolished; and not being satisfied with the specious promises he gave them, they levied troops, and sent for succours to their brethren in Hungary, Moravia, and the German states. Matthias conciliated the Hungarians by yielding to their demands, and was crowned king with great pomp and splendour. The Moravians prepared to assist their brethren; but Matthias though earnestly requested to execute vengeance on the insurgents listened to the mediation of the Moravians, and after several conferences agreed to restore to the Austrian Protestants the religious freedom they had enjoyed under his father. He then received the homage of the Austrian states, March 19th, A.D. 1609.

The privileges which the Protestants had received from Matthias excited among the Bohemians the desire for the possession of the same. On the departure of Matthias, Rudolph summoned a diet to consider the affairs of the kingdom. The Protestants declined to discuss any matter till he had granted to them freedom of religious worship; and the diet separated without transacting any business. A troop of horse and foot soldiers was raised to enforce the demands, which rapidly swelled its number by the activity of the Protestants aided by the States of Silesia. The obstinacy of the emperor was so great, that when he had no means of resistance, he refused to yield, though urged to do so even by his Catholic advisers. When, however, they resolved to appeal to his brother, he reluctantly granted to them the free exercise of their religion to the same extent as they had enjoyed under Maximilian II. They also procured a like freedom for their brethren in Silesia; and once more the churches rang with Protestant truth, and the people rejoiced in their religious consolations. While the emperor was occupied with these events, the united Protestants of the empire deputed the Prince of Anhalt to wait upon their sovereign at Prague, and renew the demands they had so often made upon him. Rudolph alarmed at the statements of the prince on his second interview, promised to consider their requests, and then relapsed into his usual state of gloomy melancholy and indifference.

Meanwhile a storm was rising, which threatened the safety of the house of Austria, and the Catholic religion. A dispute arose respecting the rich and extensive dominions of the Duke of Cleves and Juliers. They were claimed by several princes in right of marriage, or former treaties and compacts. The Elector of Brandenburg and the Count Palatine of Neuburg took possession of the inheritance; and the Elector of Saxony appealed to the emperor with a strong family claim. Rudolph issued an order for its sequestration, and sent Leopold bishop of Passau and Strasburg to carry it into execution. The Princes of Brandenburg and Neuburg, fearing the combination against them, agreed to a mutual treaty at Dortmund, which was confirmed by the states. This quarrel assumed great importance in the country, and was looked upon as a trial of strength

between the Catholic and Protestant parties. Each formed a powerful league. The Protestants secured Henry IV. of France, who entered warmly into their plans, and placed 10,000 men at their disposal; and they commenced negotiations with the principal Protestant countries of Europe, and corresponded with the disaffected in Austria and Bohemia. The Catholics had also entered into a union with the chief princes, which was called the Liga; and while they left Rudolph buried in his gloom and studies, they arranged their plans, and collected their forces. The horrors of a bloody and extensive war were apparent. The Protestants had already commenced; the French troops were only waiting the word to march; and the Catholics were prepared to resist the attack. Henry IV. was about to head his troops, when suddenly all the plans were disarranged by his assassination on the 11th of May, 1610. The Protestants were terror-stricken; the Catholics loudly rejoiced, and pushed forward their forces. The moderation of both parties alone stifled the outbreak, and prevented the bloody war by a treaty at Munich on the 24th of October 1610.

The gloomy and suspicious mind of Rudolph was daily brooding over the humiliations he had received from Matthias; and he resolved to secure the crown of Bohemia to Leopold to the exclusion of Ferdinand and Matthias. The troops of the Bishop of Passau conducted by their leader Ramèe, burst into Bohemia, and committed great ravages. The states appealed to the emperor; and he craftily ordered the troops to retire, though Leopold still advanced to the city. The states again remonstrated, and Ramèe promised to withdraw, if they would not attack him on his retreat. The suspicions of the town were lulled; and while the people were celebrating a festival, the troops seized one of the gates, and took possession of the little town. The emperor now declared his purpose, and assisted in the siege of the place. The states applied to Matthias, who speedily collected his troops, and marched into Prague. The forces of Leopold fled, and in their retreat lost 2,000 men. The emperor attempted to compromise the affair; but the troops of the city surrounded his palace, and kept him a prisoner. The nobles consulted with Matthias about wresting the crown from the emperor; who, perceiving their intentions, declared he would rather resign it willingly than be forced to do so. The states embraced the opportunity to extort from the archduke the most unbounded concessions, which he resolutely opposed. He however satisfied them by granting a general confirmation of their civil and religious rights. Rudolph to save his crown had agreed to grant still greater concessions; but his subjects were aware how frail were his promises, and refused to entertain his proposals. The emperor received their refusal with a paroxysm of despair. He threw open the window, and looking out on the splendid city exclaimed, "Ungrateful Prague! to me dost thou owe thy wondrous beauty, and thus has thou repaid my benefits. May the vengeance of Heaven strike thee, and my curse light upon thee and the whole of Bohemia." He signed his abdication with intense feelings; he



blotted the writing, tore the pen to pieces, and trampled it under his feet. Matthias was crowned king with the utmost splendour, and treated the late king in a very handsome manner, by allowing him to retain the palace, and a large pension. But Rudolph miserably grieved over his distresses, and manifested still greater impatience and moroseness. His sorrows did not awaken much commiseration in the empire. The Protestant princes hailed the accession of Matthias, renewed their union, collected a magazine, increased their troops, and remonstrated with the emperor. Nor did the electors sympathise with him in his humiliation. He endeavoured to move the electoral college by depicting his poverty and privations, and asked them to relieve him with a grant; but they reminded him that he had brought it all upon himself by his blind adherence to his ministers, and his refusal of their counsel and advice. They requested him to assemble a diet, and select a prince to be chosen King of the Romans. The emperor assented with his usual willingness, but delayed the fulfilment of his promise; and the electors convened the assembly on the 31st of May 1612. This was a death-blow to Rudolph. His constitution was worn out by gloom and seclusion; he rapidly sunk into a decline, which carried him to his grave in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

The preceding narrative has sufficiently shown the character of this sovereign. His incapacity for reigning was seen in every act; his dissimulation was worthy of the Spanish court where he imbibed it; and his intolerant spirit stirred up a host of enemies in all parts of his dominions. Had he occupied a private station, his name would have been respected for his scientific attainments. He was very well versed in chemistry, botany, mining, painting, and various mechanical arts. The illustrious Kepler and Tycho Brahe were his associates, by whom the Rudolphin tables were constructed. Literature occupied a considerable share of his attention, and was represented at court by the number of literary men who enjoyed its honours. The city of Prague, where he resided, was adorned by his classic and artistic taste. Schools were multiplied through the country, and the language expanded and chastened. "This," says the native historian, "was the golden era of Prague."

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## CHAPTER VII.

MATTHIAS. A.D. 1612-1619.

THE success which had crowned the endeavours of Matthias in Austria and Bohemia led him to anticipate little difficulty in being able to secure the votes of the electoral college, and obtain the

imperial crown. The princes, however, viewed the success of the archduke with great dissatisfaction. The Catholics feared his connection with the Protestants; and the Lutherans and Calvinists discerned the treacherous policy he had been carrying out, and dreaded the accession of power to the mighty house of Austria. The imperial dignity was therefore offered first to Albert, sovereign of the Netherlands, and then to Maximilian the brother of Matthias. These princes wisely declined to accept a throne which would expose them to the unbridled indignation and power of Matthias; and they entreated that the dignity might be conferred on the king of Bohemia; who was unanimously chosen by the electors, after an interregnum of six months. The state of the empire demanded the utmost wisdom, toleration, prudence, and energy of the sovereign. Matthias was clear in his designs, prompt in action, and bold in danger; but he was deficient in that forbearance and moderation which distinguished the reign of his father Maximilian II. The entire country was shaken by domestic afflictions; party spirit was rendered more bitter by the infusion of religious hatred; liberty was to be gained and preserved only by force; and hence the three powerful sects, the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, strove to augment the resources of their party, and to obtain the greatest influence in the kingdom. Matthias soon found that he was no longer master of that power which he fondly thought was supreme, and that he could only wield it when in harmony with the wishes of the princes. At his election he was forced to sign a capitulation, which bound him to use the grants of the diet for the purpose for which they were voted, and to ameliorate the Aulic council and imperial chamber; and which stipulated that if he refused to consent to the election of a king of the Romans when requested, the electors should have the authority to select one.

The first opposition he met with was the refusal of the imperial diet to grant succours for obtaining possession of Transylvania. That province, instead of reverting to the house of Austria, as it should have done by the treaty of Vienna on the death of Botskai, had been given by the Turks to Bethlehem Gabor, who in 1613 was acknowledged by the States. The emperor applied to the diet for assistance to establish by force the treaty of Vienna. He expatiated on the favourable opportunity which was afforded by the wars which engaged the Turks in Asia; and to gain the support of the Protestants, he gave his solemn promise that the reforms demanded should be effected, and the privileges of Donawerth restored. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful; the diet was a scene of discord; the Catholics reproached the Protestants, and the Protestants retorted with equal severity on the Catholics; and the diet was dissolved without any succours being granted. Matthias then convoked at Lintz the general assembly of the countries more especially under his dominion, in the hope that his influence might be sufficiently powerful with them to induce them to render him assistance in carrying out his designs. He was bitterly disappointed. The Austrians suspected his intention of curbing the liberties they had

wrung out from him by their support, and deprecated a war with the Turks. The Bohemians were exasperated by an infringement of their freedom, and sullenly refused to give their votes. The Hungarians had in past years tasted the bitter fruits of war; and with a vivid recollection of the horrors they had witnessed, trembled at the prospect of a contest which could not fail to involve their country in commotion and distress. Thus baffled in his hope of succour, there remained no other alternative but to make peace with the sultan, and to pass by in silence the occupation of Transylvania.

The dark storm which for years had threatened Germany gradually grew more menacing, and gave repeated indications of its rapid advance. In various parts of the empire the distant murmur could be distinctly recognised; and even in those parts where the most profound tranquillity reigned, the calm was oppressive and significant. A dispute arose respecting the guardianship of the youthful Elector Palatine Frederick, on the death of his father. The Count Palatine of Neuburg, a strict Lutheran, was opposed by the Duke of Deux Ponts, a rigid Calvinist; and for some time the contest was carried on with bitter animosity, till the electoral college hushed it by giving to Deux Ponts the administration of the vicariate, and the electoral vote. The sound of this strife had scarcely passed away before the growl of war was heard in Aix la Chapelle. The Protestants though often crushed were indued with a wonderful vitality; and during the latter part of the reign of Rudolph, had here driven out the Catholics, and restored their own magistracy. The Duke of Deux Ponts attempted to soften the rage of both parties; but when they appealed to the emperor, Matthias revived the ban against the Protestants, and intrusted the execution of it to the archduke Albert, and the Elector of Saxony. The struggle was also revived in the duchy of Juliers and Cleves. A town had rapidly risen on the banks of the Rhine opposite Cologne, which formed a place of rendezvous to the oppressed Protestants. It was strongly fortified, and enjoyed its own government, and freedom of worship. Cologne viewed the rising town with jealousy, and complained of the existence of Mulheim to the emperor, as an infringement of the compacts between the city and the ancient Dukes of Juliers and Cleves. Matthias ordered the princes to demolish the fortresses, and to suspend their building operations. The princes were at this time disunited; the treaty of Dortmund was violated as soon as they were free from external aggressions; and an insult which the elector gave to the Count Palatine brought matters to an open rupture. The count turned Catholic, and wedded the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria to secure the support of the Catholics; and the elector turned Calvinist to gain the co-operation of the Protestant union, and the united States. The war burst out with great fury; each prince acting on the absurd principle, *cujus regio, ejus religio*, introduced his new religion into his dominions; and the Count Palatine began to demolish the fortifications of Mulheim. The contest daily assumed a more serious appearance. The elector appealed to the Netherlands for help, and the Prince of Orange advanced with

his troops, and gained possession of Juliers and other towns. The Prince Palatine appealed to Spain, and Spinola with 30,000 Spanish troops from the Netherlands executed the ban of the empire against Aix la Chapelle and Mulheim, and captured several fortresses on the Rhine. The princes soon perceived the error they had committed in introducing foreign troops, who were dividing among themselves the territories they came to protect. They in vain concluded a treaty by the mediation of France and England to induce the foreigners to quit the country; for they refused to relinquish the places they had taken. The princes appealed to the emperor, and their subjects inveighed against the ravages of their respective opponents; but Matthias, dreading a civil war, allowed the dominions to be occupied by the foreign troops.

The emperor was at this time busily occupied in providing a successor to his crowns and possessions. He had reached the age of sixty, had no children, and felt the decay of nature fast creeping over him. He was anxious to preserve his dignities in the Austrian line, and the only hope of securing that was by appointing his nephew Ferdinand duke of Styria as his successor. His brother Maximilian resigned his claim, and procured the resignation of that of Albert of the Netherlands, and the approbation of the king of Spain. The electors, however, were aroused by Frederick elector Palatine, who represented the appointment of Ferdinand as a breach of the Golden Bull, and as an attempt to deprive the electoral college of their votes, and to thrust upon the nation a despotic and intolerant prince. Matthias first advised the Bohemian states to elect Ferdinand as their king. The character of the archduke had been sufficiently displayed in his conduct as Duke of Styria to awaken the fears of the people. He had been brought up by the Jesuits, who infused into him a bigotted and persecuting spirit; and his active and enterprising mind increased the power of his bitter hatred. He had banished the Protestant preachers and schoolmasters from his dominions, planted the Jesuits and Capuchins in the chief cities, and expelled all who would not conform to the Catholic faith. He was, however, crowned at Prague on the 10th of June 1616; and soon after was acknowledged king of Hungary, and crowned at Presburg.

The fears which the Protestants had expressed were speedily realised on the accession of Ferdinand. He filled Bohemia with Jesuits and Capuchins, entrusted the government to the hands of Slawater and Martinitz, two Catholics who were universally detested, established a strict censorship of the press, and permitted Jesuitical pamphlets to circulate through the kingdom, which boldly declared that the extirpation of heresy was the duty of the king. The Protestants trembled for their safety; the days of Huss and Ziska rose vividly before their imagination; and the alliance with the perfidious court of Spain, which Ferdinand had contracted, increased the fermentation, and added civil strife to religious hatred. The Bohemians found a bold and skilful leader in Henry count of Thurn. He had risen to great eminence in the state, had acquired by his

wisdom and prudence a mighty influence over the people, and was appointed by the emperor Burgrave of Carlstein. He had warmly opposed the election of Ferdinand, and was soon after abruptly dismissed from his burgraviat. Ambition and the desire of vengeance prompted him to defend the liberties of his country against the aggressions of the bigotted king; and an event soon occurred which furnished him with a pretext to commence hostilities.

The emperor had granted to the Protestant members of the states liberty to build churches and schools, and enjoy their religion. Those towns which were not members claimed the same privileges; and churches were erected in the town of Brunan, and the village of Clostergraben. The Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Brunau interfered, and obtained a prohibition from the government against them. The Protestants remonstrated, and entered into a confederacy to secure their rights and privileges, and formed compacts with the Protestants of the empire. Ferdinand treated their remonstrance with contempt, and ordered the demolition of the churches. A meeting of delegates assembled at Prague to consider the affair; when Thurn roused them by his eloquence, and induced them to declare that the act of the king was a breach of the royal edict of Matthias, and to draw up a petition to the emperor demanding redress. The emperor returned an answer which greatly inflamed the minds of the people; and instead of sending it to the deputies, he addressed it to the council of regency, where the two obnoxious nobles Slawater and Martinitz were sitting. The glowing enthusiasm of Thurn stirred up the anger of the deputies to the highest fury. They hastened to the council chamber to demand an explanation of the affair; where one more bold than the others exclaimed, "Let us follow the ancient custom of Bohemia, and hurl them from the window." The window was thrown up, and Martinitz was hurled into the ditch below. The deputies stood aghast at the deed they had hastily done, and hesitated. Thurn saw them wavering, and reanimated them by exclaiming "Noble lords, another object awaits your vengeance." Slawater and his secretary Fabricius were precipitated from the height; yet wonderfully escaped with a few bruises. This event led to that disastrous war which desolated Europe for thirty years, and hence derives its name, the Thirty Years' War.

The Protestants had now reached a point where retreat was impossible. Their leader cheered them with his presence and address. "The die is thrown;" he exclaimed, "it is too late to recall what is past; your safety depends alone on unanimity and courage; and if you hesitate to burst asunder your chains, you have no alternative but to perish by the hands of the executioner." They arranged their plans; chose thirty directors to manage their affairs; levied troops, elected Thurn as their commander, appealed to the Protestants throughout the empire, and commenced their revolt. The emperor was thunderstruck at the intelligence, and endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation with his subjects; but Ferdinand, stirred up by the Jesuits, published a protest which breathed his bitter spirit, and

widened still further the breach between them. Hostilities commenced on both sides. Matthias assembled 10,000 men, and gave the command to General Dampierre, and drew 8,000 Spanish troops from the Netherlands under the command of Count de Bucquoy; but before he sent them into the field, he made one more attempt to bring the Protestants back to their allegiance. This so enraged Ferdinand that he resolved to wreak his vengeance on Klesel, the wise and prudent minister of Matthias. He arrested him, stripped him of his robes, and conveyed him to a castle in the Tyrol, and then communicated the intelligence to the emperor. The old man was confined to his bed with the gout; and when he heard it, his rage was so great that he could scarcely restrain himself; his dread of Ferdinand, however, was powerful enough to overcome his anger, and to silence his rising resentment.

Ferdinand hastened with 5,000 men to Moravia, while Dampierre was ordered into Bohemia. Thurn marched with an army of 10,000 men, secured all the towns except Pilsen and Budweis which adhered to the emperor, and defeated the imperial armies. The Silesians and Lusatians joined the confederation; and the Elector Palatine furnished a body of 4,000 troops, commanded by Count Mansfeld, who had entered into the service of the Duke of Savoy. This celebrated general, who had served with great distinction in the Netherlands, and had been disgusted with the conduct of Austria, laid siege to Pilsen, the most important fortress in the kingdom next to Prague; which, after a stout resistance, was taken and occupied by him. Dampierre was obliged to retreat to Austria, and Bucquoy to Budweis; where he resolved to defend to the last, the only remaining town faithful to Austria. Matthias had vainly attempted to gain succours from the estates of Austria, and the diet of the empire. They upbraided him with undertaking the war, and advised him to propose terms of peace. Ferdinand was even alarmed at the strong feeling for peace among the Catholics; the insurgents in Bohemia, though successful, were weary of strife; and a meeting was proposed to take place at Egra on the 14th of April 1619. These pacific measures were frustrated by the death of Matthias. The disappointments and humiliations to which he had been subjected, added to the infirmities of age and disease; shock after shock had been given to his feeble frame; and on the 20th of March 1619 he died, just when the storm which had long hovered in the distance had reached the zenith, and had commenced pouring out its deadly fury, which afflicted the land for thirty years.

Matthias was one of those restless ambitious characters who are never satisfied with any attainment. His mind was independent, active, and free from the pernicious influence of Jesuitical preceptors. He acquired a great love for military pursuits; and in the ardour of his youth, rather courted danger than avoided it. He was well practised in the art of dissimulation, when necessary to the accomplishment of his plans. He deceived the Protestants by his affected toleration, and disappointed the Catholics by his arbitrary proceedings. He was devotedly attached to his wife, and made some

pretensions to learning ; but he possessed neither the moderation of his father, nor the ingenuity of his brother. He was a good adventurer, and secured as his prize three crowns ; but his rule was not distinguished by the genius of a wise and benevolent emperor.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

FERDINAND II. A.D. 1619-1637.

THE death of the emperor presented to Ferdinand a favourable opportunity for receiving the imperial dignity, and increasing the influence of his authority. His possessions were already very extensive. He wore the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, and held the Archduchy of Austria ; he was in his own right the Duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola ; and shared with his brothers Leopold and Charles the rich dominions of the Tyrol. But these possessions were in a very unsettled condition ; in every part discontent had either broken out into open rebellion, or was silently brooding, and only waiting for some event to transpire to arouse it into strife. The insurgents held possession of all Bohemia except Budweis ; the nobles of Hungary were secretly intriguing with the Prince of Transylvania ; the Protestants of Upper Austria joined the confederacy of Bohemia, and secured the passes for the insurgents ; while those of Lower Austria were alone kept in subjection by the presence of Ferdinand and his army. The king seems to have felt the critical position in which he was placed, and attempted to reconcile the disaffected by reluctant concessions ; but his efforts were defeated by his intolerance and bigotry, and stimulated his opponents to greater resistance, by showing them the impossibility of trusting to a prince, who would violate the sanctity of an oath, and crush them by his severity as soon as he had the opportunity. They resolved, therefore, to thrust him aside from the throne of Bohemia, as a sovereign unworthy of their respect and allegiance.

Mansfeld watched the movements of Buequoy at Budweis ; while Thurn, at the head of 16,000 men, proceeded into Moravia. The capital hailed his approach ; the natives, ripe for revolt, flocked in vast numbers to his standard ; the Protestant religion was everywhere established ; and swelling his army as he advanced, the count burst into Upper Austria, and marched to the gates of Vienna. He took possession of the suburbs, invested the city, and trusted that soon the disaffected within would give him possession of the capital without striking a single blow. The condition of Ferdinand was desperate. The garrison was weak and clamorous for pay ; the expectation of receiving succour from without was hopeless ; and a numerous party within the walls was boldly demanding the surrender of the place. Ferdinand rose to the exigencies of the occasion ; and

supported by his Jesuitical advisers, resolved to defend the capital of Austria to the utmost, and rather bury himself in its ruins than capitulate. Every day his situation became more critical; the deafening roar of the cannon shook the walls of the palace; a cry was heard in the streets threatening to shut the king up in a convent, and put his ministers to the sword; and in the height of the excitement sixteen Protestant members of the states burst into the royal apartment, and with threats and reproaches, demanded the king's permission to join the insurgents. Ferdinand hesitated; and the few moments of silence which followed were at length broken by the sudden blasting of trumpets. A troop of horse sent to the rescue of Ferdinand by Dampierre, dashed into the city. Though but 500 in number, the effect of this small reinforcement was instantaneous. Fear seized the hearts of his enemies, and the disaffected fled to the camp of Thurn for safety. The students and burghers quickly armed to quell the tumult within the city; the news of the defeat of Mansfeld by Bucquoy reached the besiegers; and Thurn immediately packed up his baggage, and hastened to secure the capital of Bohemia.

The danger which threatened Ferdinand in his hereditary dominions was thus avoided for the present; and he was enabled to proceed to Germany to secure the imperial crown. His character rendered him an object of dread to the Catholics and Protestants; and his election would not have taken place had there been another prince willing to take the responsibility in the threatening aspect of the empire. The dukes of Bavaria and Savoy had been warmly pressed by the electors to receive the dignity, but they had refused; and the various kingdoms of Europe were too much engaged with domestic affairs to interfere in the matter. Frederick, the young and ambitious Elector Palatine, desired the prize, but his design of obtaining through the insurgents the crown of Bohemia, imposed silence upon him, lest he should be defeated. Ferdinand was, therefore, unanimously chosen and crowned emperor, on the 9th of September, 1619, after signing the usual capitulation.

While Ferdinand was securing the imperial crown, the insurgents were taking active measures to rob him of the crown of Bohemia. A grand diet was formed at Prague of the states of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia. The confederacy among the discontented in all the dominions of the house of Hapsburg was renewed; and a list of grievances drawn up, stating how the king had violated his oath, had devastated the country with war, sold for a considerable sum the transfer of the kingdom to Spain, and crushed their privileges. They solemnly declared the king deposed, and proceeded to a new election. The Protestants were too powerful to leave the Catholics any real authority; but unfortunately they were divided into two parties. The Lutherans predominated; and the Calvinists permitted them to offer the dignity to the Duke of Bavaria; and on his refusal, procured the election of Frederick the Elector Palatine. He was strongly advised by many of his friends not to accept the gift; while an equal number urged him to secure the crown. His



indecision was overruled by the intreaty of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, who wished to gratify her royal pride by obtaining the kingly dignity for her husband. He signed the deed of election with a trembling hand, entrusted the government of the electorate to the Duke of Deux Ponts, and hastened into Bohemia. His coronation was celebrated with the greatest profusion and splendour; the people hailed their new sovereign with transports of joy; all classes and creeds rejoiced at the termination of the rigorous government of Ferdinand; and Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Venice, and many of the German princes acknowledged him in his new title.

Hostilities still raged between the belligerents. Hungary was ravaged by Bethlehem Gabor, who defeated the imperial general Homonai, captured Presburg, and marched into Austria. Bucquoy was recalled from Bohemia to resist Gabor. Thurn advanced towards Vienna; and being reinforced by the Hungarian army, attacked the forces of Bucquoy, and drove him from his position before Vienna, which was alone separated from the victorious troops by the Danube. The capital was again placed in great jeopardy; and famine threatened to compel the defenders to surrender. The bravery of the imperial generals, and the want of provisions among the besiegers, however, saved the city. Gabor returned to Hungary, and proclaimed himself king; and Thurn dismissed his troops into their winter quarters.

The belligerents endeavoured to secure the assistance of their friends. Frederick succeeded by his influence as head of the union in gaining its sanction of his proceedings. He called the attention of the members to the warlike preparations of the Catholic league; and the union called out its troops to watch the league, and to assist Frederick. The emperor was not less active than his rival. He secured the co-operation of the three ecclesiastical electors, gained the warlike Duke of Bavaria to his party by splendid promises, and obtained a large grant of money from the pope. He induced France and England, through the influence of Spain, to preserve a strict neutrality, and procured by his persevering efforts from the court of Madrid, the aid of 24,000 men under Spinola, who were to march into the Palatinate from the Netherlands. He even succeeded in alluring the Elector of Saxony to desert the standard of Frederick. The King of Bohemia was wasting his time in feasting and the gaities of his court. The first enthusiasm of his subjects had subsided; the French language and customs introduced by him were distasteful to them, and the attacks of his preachers on the Lutheran religion increased their feeling of disappointment. Attempts were made to reduce the worship to the Calvinistic simplicity. The ornaments of the churches were torn down, the pictures and crucifixes demolished, and the time-hallowed ceremonies banished. The favour bestowed on Christian prince of Anhalt, and George count of Hohenlohe aroused the jealousy of the nobles, especially Thurn and Mansfeld.

In the spring of 1620 the armies of the league and of the union

took the field; the Protestants at Ulm, the Catholics near Guntzburg. Spinola was advancing with rapid strides, and the eyes of Europe were anxiously directed towards the coming struggle. France sent the Duke d'Angoulême to mediate between the combatants; and the Protestants, trembling for their safety, drew up a treaty of peace, which the emperor accepted. The union agreed not to assist Frederick, and the league not to attack the Palatinate. Spinola, however, directly after took possession of the elector's dominions, and justified the act to the union by pleading that he was not a member of the league. The entire Catholic force was turned against Frederick. Lower Austria submitted to the emperor; Dampierre watched the movements of Gabor with a large army, and was slain at Presburg; another army kept the Silesians in awe; the Elector of Saxony ravaged Lusatia; while the Duke of Bavaria with the Count of Tilly, a distinguished general, who had served under Alba, advanced with 25,000 men into Upper Austria, and entered Bohemia on the side of Budweis. Bucquoy after ravaging the country joined the Duke of Bavaria at Piseck. That fortress was summoned to surrender; and while the governor was hesitating the ramparts were scaled, the town fired, the garrison put to the sword, and the inhabitants massacred by the Cossacks. The situation of Frederick was daily becoming more critical. He had so weaned the affections of the burghers from him that they refused to grant money or to arm on his behalf. His chief army with the Prince of Anhalt was without clothes and pay; his officers were disunited, and urged him to sue for peace. The Duke of Bavaria perceived the advantages which were to be gained by immediate action; he forced his antagonist to several petty engagements, and drove him to the walls of Praguc. The prince took up a strong position on the Weisse Berg, and prepared to intrench himself, and defend the capital. The duke pressed forward with rapid marches, and came up with the foe at the dawn of day. The attack commenced; the troops rushed upon their enemies with a shout; the ranks wavered and broke; and in less than an hour, the artillery, a hundred standards, and the strong position fell into the hands of the imperialists.

Frederick was feasting in the city during the eventful struggle; and messenger after messenger had been dispatched to him, but still he delayed. The tidings of his misfortunes alone roused him, and he came in time to witness the rout of his troops. He hastened back to his palace, and made instant preparations for his flight. A truce of eight hours had been granted to him, on condition of his resigning by letter the crown. The citizens implored him to stay, and pointed out the abundant means they had at their command to resist an attack. Thurn reminded him of the troops under Mansfeld, the powerful Hungarians, and the veteran soldiers who were now awaiting the beat of the drum to recall them to their banners. But all was unavailing. Frederick was struck with a panic, the confusion and uproar around unnerved him; he left in his haste his crown in the market place; and secretly departed from Prague in

the dead of the night, accompanied by Anhalt, Hohenlohe, Thurn, and his wife and children, on the 8th of November 1620. He passed first to Breslau, and ultimately took refuge in Holland, where the Prince of Orange granted the castle of Rhenen as a residence for the royal exile.

The next day the gates of Prague were thrown open, and the conqueror took possession of the city. The states surrendered unconditionally; Charles prince of Lichtenstein was appointed governor; and a garrison under the command of Tilly left within the city. For three months no measures were taken against the insurgents; and their suspicions were lulled. In January 1621, however, the calm was broken by the arrest of the principal leaders, and a bitter persecution was raised. Seven hundred nobles were driven into exile, or ruined by the confiscation of their property; twenty-three were publicly executed; and seventeen imprisoned for life. Thirty-six thousand families emigrated. The churches were placed in the hands of the Jesuits, the books of the reformed burnt, and every trace of religious and civil freedom annihilated. Similar proceedings were taken in Silesia which had submitted to the elector of Saxony. A band of Jesuits, accompanied by a troop of dragoons, scoured the country; the houses were burst open, and property seized; the inhabitants were kept from emigrating by the sword; and the women and children were barbarously massacred by the ferocious troops. The rapacity of Ferdinand was unbounded; the immense wealth of Prague was squandered on his Jesuits; while to reward the duke of Bavaria, he conferred on him the electoral dignity, and to satisfy his unmitigated hatred of Protestantism, and the demands of his allies, he dismembered the Palatinate.

The Protestant union now beheld the results of their desertion of Frederick; they were impotent to resist the will of the emperor, supported as it was by the troops of Spinola and Bavaria; and on the 12th of April 1621 they drew up a treaty of neutrality at Mentz, and soon after dissolved their union, and disbanded their troops. Ferdinand also secured the neutrality of Bethlehem Gabor. After the death of Dampierre, Bucquoy carried his victorious arms into Hungary, where he was killed when besieging Neuhasel. Gabor invaded Moravia, and threatened Austria; but being disappointed in his succours, he entered into a treaty with Ferdinand, renounced his claim to the crown of Hungary, and was rewarded with the gift of seven provinces in Upper Hungary for life, January 26, 1622. Mansfeld still held Tabor and Pilsen, and ravaged the country around, even to the gates of Prague; but being hard pressed by Tilly and the elector of Saxony, he burst through their forces at night, and retreated to the Palatinate; where he was joined by many of the troops of the union lately disbanded, and the disaffected. To secure greater booty, he marched into Alsace, and plundered the sees of Spire and Strasburg. His success drew Frederick from his retreat in Holland; whose cause was also maintained by Christian of Brunswick, and the margrave of Baden Durlach. Tilly, who had

followed Mansfeld from Bohemia, saw the necessity of preventing a junction of these troops, and of attacking them singly. He defeated the margrave at Wimpfen, as he was attempting to enter Bavaria; routed the forces of Brunswick; and forced Mansfeld to retire into Alsace. The weakness of Frederick defeated the vigorous efforts of his supporters; the margrave of Baden retired from the contest; and the elector disowned the friendship and support of Mansfeld and Christian, that negotiations might be commenced. They retired into Holland; but their restless spirits could not long remain quiet. Mansfeld invaded the province of East Friesland, and captured enormous booty; and Christian ravaged Saxony and Westphalia. Again Tilly was victorious. Christian was defeated at Loen on the Main, with a great loss; and Mansfeld retired to Holland, and disbanded his troops in January 1624.

Meanwhile Ferdinand summoned a diet at Ratisbon in February 1623, to carry out his plan of dismembering the Palatinate. He anticipated great opposition, and therefore proceeded with unusual moderation. He conferred the electoral dignity on Maximilian duke of Bavaria for his life only; and to pacify the fears of the elector's relatives deferred the division of his territories until some future time. The elector of Saxony was rewarded with the concession of Lusatia, as an indemnification for his expenses. The Protestants, however, were greatly alarmed at the intolerant proceedings of the emperor. The Protestant worship had been abolished in Bohemia, and the Palatinate, and a cruel persecution commenced against its adherents. Upper Austria had been plunged into difficulties by the excesses of the governor. The privileges of the estates were abolished; a band of lawless soldiers plundered the peasantry; and the Protestant worship was gradually exterminated. The people, however, did not part with their religious freedom without severe struggles. They took up arms, and defeated the royalists. Stephen Fadinger formed an army among them which was dressed in black, in sorrow for their country, and drove the Bavarians to their fortresses. Another celebrated leader called the Student rose to the command after the death of Stephen, and was eminently successful against the imperialists. The efforts of Henry Godfrey however defeated the plans of the insurgents. Thousands of the peasantry were cut down; martial law was everywhere vigorously inflicted; the living were inhumanly massacred; the high roads were lined with gallows, and infected with foul vapours from the decaying carcasses; and the few survivors were converted by the priests, and restored to the church.

The Protestants spent the whole of 1624 in negotiations with foreign powers to form a powerful league against the emperor. England sent an army of 14,000 men under Mansfeld; and the states in Lower Saxony met and entered into a confederacy, and appointed Christian king of Denmark head of the league. The banks of the Weser became the theatre of a war which raged with great fury. Tilly however displayed his great talents and bravery, and defeated the plans of his opponents. The magnitude of the approaching

contest induced Ferdinand to wish for some other means of resisting it than the Catholic league under the Duke of Bavaria, and Tilly. He dreaded the influence of Bavaria to whom he had been obliged to grant Upper Austria; and he was also threatened by the appearance of Mansfeld in the duchies of Mecklenburg, and the approach of Bethlehem Gabor on Austria. At this juncture Wallenstein the hero of the Thirty Years' War came forward, and offered his services to Ferdinand.

Albert count of Waldstein, generally called Wallenstein, was descended from an illustrious Bohemian family, and was born at Prague A.D. 1583. In his youth he manifested a bold and imperious spirit, and surpassed his companions in the fervency of his imagination, and the activity of his mind. He was educated a Protestant; but while serving as a page to the Catholic margrave of Burgau, he accidentally fell unhurt from the castle window, which led him to embrace the faith of his master. He afterwards travelled very considerably in Europe, and studied in Italy history, mathematics, and the occult sciences, especially astrology. On his return to Bohemia, his poverty induced him to marry an aged Moravian widow, who brought to him great riches. His fortune now enabled him to gratify his military ardour. He levied a corps of horse, and greatly distinguished himself in the Venetian and Hungarian wars; and his veteran corps was conspicuous at the battle of Prague. On the death of his aged wife, he increased his possessions by marrying the Countess of Harrach; and with her large dowry, he purchased at a mere nominal price, immense confiscated estates in Bohemia. The emperor as a reward for his services bestowed on him Friedland, and the dignity of a count of the empire. Wallenstein now offered to levy, equip, and pay an army of 50,000 men, if he were allowed the sole command. The emperor accepted his proposal, and conferred on him the dignity of the Duke of Friedland.

His standard was soon crowded by adventurers, and persons of all countries and creeds, who were attracted by the hope of plunder; whom he rigorously drilled; and with this powerful army, he hastened to join Tilly. Instead however of uniting with him, he turned off at Dessau, and ravaged the districts of Grubenhagen, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. The King of Denmark placed himself at the head of the confederates; and while Mansfeld kept Wallenstein in check at Dessau, he sought to draw Tilly from his posts, and to separate him from his ally. The engagements between them were frequent and bloody; the king was driven to Lutter, where he was defeated with the loss of his baggage, artillery, and a great part of his army, and effected a difficult retreat to Holstein. Mansfeld was three times repulsed by Wallenstein at Dessau; but having reinforced his army by fresh levies, and 5,000 Danes under the Duke of Saxe Weimar, he advanced into Silesia, and defeated the detachments of royalists sent to oppose him. He left the Duke of Weimar to secure his conquests in Moravia, and descending along the Waag, routed an imperial force, joined the army of Gabor, and commenced hostilities with the united forces. Wallenstein rapidly

followed Mansfeld into Hungary with 30,000 men, and kept him in check. The two armies were prostrated by sickness; Gabor made peace with the emperor; the insurgents of Austria were subdued; and Mansfeld sold his artillery, disbanded his troops, and fled towards Venice. A fever prostrated him on the road; and this distinguished warrior died at Zara, a village in Dalmatia.

The death of the Duke of Weimar, and of Christian of Brunswick, enabled Wallenstein to unite his arms with those of Tilly against the King of Denmark. The Danish fortresses were destroyed by the imperial troops, and the king reduced to the necessity of proposing terms of peace. Ferdinand, flushed with success, refused to listen to them; the Dukes of Mecklenburg were defeated; and the war was carried into the advanced towns of Denmark. For the purpose of conquering the isles belonging to the king, and of preventing Sweden interfering in the struggle, a small naval force was collected and given to the command of Wallenstein. He invaded Pomerania, captured the isle of Usedom, gained possession of several ports, occupied the isle of Rugen, and laid siege to Stralsund a Hanseatic town, garrisoned by Danish troops. The town was on the point of capitulating, when Sweden, jealous of the influence of Austria in the Baltic, appeared with her fleet, and landed a body of troops, which took possession of the place. Wallenstein was reluctantly forced to relinquish his enterprise; and Christian, though defeated on land, was enabled to show his superiority at sea by crushing the feeble navy, and harassing the shores of the Baltic. All parties were growing weary of strife. Christian renewed his efforts of peace; and Wallenstein, anxious to secure the vast possessions he had acquired, persuaded the emperor to accede to his terms. A congress was opened at Lubeck in May, 1629, where the treaty was signed. Christian was to receive all his conquered dominions, but was not to interfere in the disputes of the empire; and was to renounce his claim to the bishoprics, which the emperor was anxious to secure to his relatives. Wallenstein was invested with the rich duchies of Mecklenburg; and Ferdinand secured the sees of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and the rich Abbey of Hirtzfeld to his second son Leopold William.

The success of the emperor only increased his ambition and rendered him more intolerent towards the Protestants. He feared little opposition from the surrounding nations to the vast designs which he had been secretly maturing. England was deeply engaged with the stormy disputes between Charles and his parliaments; France was occupied by her contests with England and Spain, and her efforts for the extermination of the Huguenots; Holland was devastated by civil commotion, and awed by Spanish troops; Turkey was the scene of constant revolution by the troops, and the deposition and murder of the Vizirs; and Gabor was rapidly sinking under a distressing malady. Ferdinand, proud of the strength of his army, and swayed by lofty ambition, designed to crush the Protestants, to reduce the Catholics to subjection, and to make his name terrible, and his power respected throughout Europe. He caused Austria

first to feel his despotic sway. The Protestant religion was proscribed, their preachers expelled, their books burnt, their marriage and baptism declared void, and the Catholic worship forced upon them. Bohemia, however, was still more harshly dealt with. The recollection of her privileges, and her opposition stimulated the revenge of the emperor. He summoned his bitterest resentment, and raised a storm of persecution which swept over the country with such fury that to this day the traces of its ravages may be seen. All the Protestant preachers, professors, and schoolmasters were ejected; marriage, baptism, trade, and even hospitals and poor-houses were denied to the Protestants; and bands of Jesuits and Capuchin monks roamed over the country, ransacked every house, destroyed every heretical book, and exasperated the feelings of the people. Numbers bid farewell to their native land for ever; thousands were driven to the woods and the mountains, and preferred the society of wild beasts to that of their persecutors; while those who dared to oppose the will of Ferdinand, were massacred on the spot, mutilated on the rack, or immured in loathsome dungeons. The privileges of the states were abrogated, the use of the Bohemian language denied to the public functionary, and Prague deprived of the liberties she had enjoyed since the days of Huss. The infatuation of the emperor prompted him publicly to declare that he would tolerate no other religion than the Catholic, and to command all to embrace it under the penalty of the heaviest malediction. Liberty, however, was dearer to many than their own country; and 30,000 of the richest families, with their servants, migrated to other lands. Bohemia was beggared, and her nationality destroyed.

Ferdinand did not confine his fanatical proceedings to his own dominions. The empire was scarcely scope enough for his ambition, and he panted to be able to exult in the utter extinction of all independence, and in his unlimited despotism. On the 6th of March 1629, he published his celebrated Edict of Restitution. He commanded all Protestants to restore the ecclesiastical property which had been secularised since the peace of Passau. He enjoined the Catholics to use every means to crush the Protestants, and root out their hated religion; and thundered the ban of the empire against all who should presume to oppose his edict. No prince had the courage to resist. The ecclesiastical property, consisting of two archbishoprics, Magdeburg and Bremen, twelve bishoprics, and a great number of convents and inferior benefices, were given up. The Jesuits and the family of Ferdinand received the finest of the gifts. Even the Catholics now became alarmed at his proceeding. They murmured at the depredations committed by the imperial troops; their princes, especially the Duke of Bavaria, could scarcely tolerate the insolence of Wallenstein; and when Ferdinand commanded them to disband the army they had retained in Swabia and Franconia, they manifested their discontent by open opposition. The Duke of Bavaria took the lead, and summoned the members of the league at Heidelberg in March 1629. They requested the emperor to convoke a diet to concert measures for the restoration of peace, and gave an

indication of their intrepidity by declaring in reply to the imperial demand for the dismissal of their troops, that "Till we have received an indemnification or a pledge for the payment of our expenses, we will neither disband a single soldier, nor relinquish a foot of territory ecclesiastical or secular, demand it who will!" Ferdinand had weakened his power by sending 30,000 men to assist the Duke of Savoy in his claim to the Montferrat, and the Duke of Guastalla to Mantua. He therefore summoned the diet at Ratisbon, from which he hoped to derive succours and the election of his son King of the Romans.

The Catholics intrigued with Cardinal Richelieu the celebrated minister of Louis XIII.; and both resolved to embrace the present opportunity of curbing the ambition, and restraining the power of the emperor. The cardinal sent an embassy with a crafty subtle Capuchin friar, Father Joseph, for the ostensible purpose of accommodating the disputes respecting Mantua; but really to secure the reduction of the imperial army, the dismissal of Wallenstein, and the rejection of the son of Ferdinand by the electors. The Protestants revived their courage, and joined the Catholics in their endeavours to gain their object. The diet met; the demands of the Catholics were received by the emperor with utter astonishment; and his spirit was deeply wounded when he experienced their opposition to the election of his son. The Duke of Bavaria reminded him that the only way of securing his election was to accede to the demands of the Catholics and the Protestants. Father Joseph, with the subtilty of the Jesuit, calmed his fears by privately assuring him that his army might soon be renewed, and Wallenstein recalled, after he had procured the nomination of his son, if he would only now consent to grant the requests of his subjects. Ferdinand was cajoled into acquiescence by the crafty friar. He disbanded 18,000 of his best cavalry, and promised to dismiss Wallenstein. He trembled greatly at the thought of incurring the resentment of that powerful general; and commanded the two envoys to communicate the intelligence to him with the greatest tenderness and respect. Wallenstein was a devout believer in astrology; and his favourite astrologer, perhaps secretly informed of the intentions of the emperor, predicted his present disgrace, and his future grandeur. The general bent to his fate; and after supplicating the favour of Ferdinand, retired in privacy to Bohemia. The emperor, having yielded to the demands of the diet, now expected the gratification of seeing his son invested with the coveted dignity; but he had been most thoroughly duped. The electors refused to nominate him; the ambassadors of France retired to their master, who meanwhile had been intriguing with Gustavus Adolphus; and Ferdinand, deceived and mortified, dissolved the diet, and gave expression to his embittered feelings by exclaiming, "A Capuchin friar has disarmed me with his rosary, and covered six electoral caps with his cowl."



## CHAPTER IX.

FERDINAND II. (CONTINUED.) A.D. 1630-1637.

THE attention of Ferdinand was soon directed to a new opponent. The throne of Sweden was occupied by the youthful Gustavus Adolphus, a prince who combined wisdom with valour, prudence with activity, and moderation with firmness. His military talents had been drawn out and matured by his wars with Denmark, Russia, and Poland. He had gained Finland from the czar, and had concluded an honourable treaty with the Kings of Denmark and Poland. As a Protestant he could not be indifferent to the oppression of his brethren in Germany. He listened to their cries for assistance, and resolved to exert his powerful influence in preventing the extinction of their freedom. As King of Sweden, he was alarmed at the overwhelming power of Austria, and at the recent attempt to become masters of the Baltic sea; and his ambition was perhaps enlisted by the expectation of receiving the imperial crown, which his great popularity in Germany might secure to him. His talents had attracted the notice of the vigilant Richelieu, who saw in him a proper instrument for humbling the pretensions of the house of Hapsburg, and incited him to become the champion of the Protestant cause. The overtures of Gustavus to the Protestant princes were coldly received; still this did not frustrate his designs. He made his preparations with remarkable celerity, levied his forces, obtained promises of support from England and France, and secured the neutrality of Denmark. He convoked the states of Sweden, and committed to them his only child Christina; and the assembly, swayed by his noble eloquence, voted him the necessary supplies, and vowed to sacrifice themselves for their beloved king.

The fleet at Elfsnaben took on board 15,000 of his veteran soldiers; and Gustavus sailed amid the tears and acclamations of his subjects. He landed at Ruden on the 24th of June 1630, and in less than a month secured the isles of Rugen, Usedom, and Wollen, and advanced to occupy Stettin, the capital of Pomerania, and to conclude a treaty with the duke. Conti the imperial general in Pomerania, unable to prevent the advance of Gustavus, intrenched himself strongly at Gartz, and baffled the efforts of the Swede to draw him from his position. The forces of the king were elsewhere victorious; Conti was unable to withstand his attacks and the ravages of famine, and resigned his post; and his successor fled before the progress of Gustavus to Frankfort, after setting fire to Gartz. All Pomerania was occupied by his troops. On the 13th of January 1631 Gustavus entered into a treaty with France. He engaged to carry on the war with Austria with an army of 30,000 foot and 6,000 horse, for an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres. In a spirited manifesto he appealed to the Protestant princes to join him; but they assembled at Leipzie, and by the advice of the electors of

Saxony and Brandenburg decreed to maintain a strict neutrality, that they might take advantage of the issue of the struggle to promote their own interests. Francis Charles of Saxe Lauenburg assembled a few troops with the intention of establishing himself in Mecklenburg to co-operate with Gustavus; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Count Pappenheim at the head of the imperialists.

Magdeburg received the Swedish general Falkenberg, and manfully resisted the efforts of the imperialists. Gustavus was contesting with Tilly the possession of the frontier fortresses. Frankfort and Landsberg fell into his hands; and Tilly unable to maintain his position on the banks of the Oder, retired to Magdeburg, which Pappenheim was attacking. The city relinquished the suburbs to the besiegers, and resolved to hold out to the last. Gustavus was soon aware of the distress of the place, and was anxious to relieve it. He wrote and promised assistance; yet was too prudent to advance before his rear was secured by an alliance with Saxony and Brandenburg. Brandenburg ceded Spandau to him to guard his rear; but Saxony declined his overtures. Meanwhile Magdeburg was taken after a gallant resistance, and became the scene of a most terrible slaughter. The soldiers spared none; the old and the young, the mother and the maiden alike fell before their infuriated feelings. Infants were murdered, wives and daughters ravaged, houses pillaged, and fired. In ten hours the richest town in Germany was reduced to ashes; and of a population of 30,000 persons, scarcely 1,000 remained. Two days after, when the soldiers were worn out with their carnage, Tilly entered the city in triumph. The streets had to be cleared to make room for his horses, and 6,000 carcases were thrown into the Elbe. The appearance of Tilly gave increased awfulness to the horrible scene. He was tall and thin; his features haggard and pale, and rendered ghastly by his green satin jacket, and high crowned hat. He paraded the streets in proud exultation, listened to a *Te Deum* chanted amid the ruins, and boasted to the emperor of his celebrated sack of Troy.

The feelings awakened throughout Germany by this terrible carnage were very profound. The Catholics threw all the blame on Gustavus and the Protestants, and declared for the emperor. The Swedish king expressed the bitterest sorrow for the fate of the royal city, and resolved to vindicate more strenuously the cause of the oppressed. The prince of Hesse sided with the king; and Tilly advanced towards him, marking his passage by rapine and desolation. Gustavus boldly relieved himself from all fear of Brandenburg, by appearing before Berlin and extorting from the elector an alliance. He entered the duchies of Mecklenburg, drove out the imperial garrisons except those in Wismar, and Rostock, and reinstated the dukes in their possessions. His queen arrived with 8000 valiant Swedes; England furnished 6000 volunteers under the Marquis of Hamilton; and Hesse concluded a firm alliance with Gustavus. Tilly, hitherto victorious, was humbled by his reverses at Wolmerstadt. His troops were dispirited; many

deserted to the Swedes; and the Count turned fiercely to the Elector of Saxony to ravage his territory, and to force his decision. The elector assembled his troops, and sent Arnheim his favourite general to conclude a treaty with Gustavus.

The king immediately crossed the Elbe at Wittenberg, united his army with that of Saxony, and advanced towards Leipzig. Tilly who had been joined by Furstemberg with the veteran troops from Italy, hesitated whether to give immediate battle to Gustavus, or wait till the arrival of 10,000 men from Silesia. He resolved to advance; and took up his position at the village of Podelwitz near Leipzig on the 7th of September 1631. The imperial ranks were formed into one line; the infantry in the middle, and the cavalry on the wings, with the artillery posted on an eminence behind. The Saxon army was placed in a similar manner; but the Swedes were formed into small battalions, and the cavalry into squadrons, intermixed with the infantry. Tilly gave the order to advance; the cannon flashed from wing to wing, and a terrible cannonade was kept up for two hours. The imperialists charged and broke the Saxon ranks; but when the troops of Pappenheim advanced towards the Swedes they were mown down by a vigorous fusilade; and after repeatedly re-forming, fled in confusion. Gustavus out-flanked the imperialists, captured and turned their artillery against them, and threw the entire army into confusion. In vain the veteran bands of Tilly returned to the charge; they were speedily cut down, and the shattered remnant obliged to retire under cover of night. Pappenheim was seven times wounded, and left for dead on the battle-field; but he recovered by the assiduous care of a peasant. Tilly fled to Halle, and then to Halberstadt; 7000 Austrians were left on the field; 5000 were taken prisoners; and all the baggage and the artillery remained the spoil of the victors.

The success of the battle of Leipzig opened up to Gustavus the whole of Germany. The high-road to Vienna was now clear; the power of the Hapsburgs was under his control; and the crown was almost at his disposal. Instead, however, of at once proceeding to crush the emperor, he resolved to secure first the alliance of the cities and princes. He had already penetrated far from his resources in the Baltic, and was dependent on minor princes, and the chances of war for support; and he naturally suspected the fidelity of the great princes to place himself in their power. His progress was more like that of a triumphant deliverer than a fierce warrior. Cities opened their gates to him, and the imperialists fled at the rumour of his approach. He passed down the Main, took Wurtzburg by storm, and captured the fortresses on both sides of the river. He conquered the towns on the Rhine; Oppenheim, Mentz, Worms, Spire, and various fortresses submitted to him. He contracted many alliances, and sent the princes with their armies into different parts of the empire. The Dukes of Mecklenburg recovered the whole of their dominions; Charles duke of Saxe Lauenburg secured Stade, the key of the Elbe; Bernard duke of Saxe Weimar captured Nordheim, Gottengen, Goslen, and Duderstadt; and the Landgrave of

Hesse ravaged Westphalia. The Saxon army under Arnheim entered Bohemia, and rapidly advanced to Prague; which capitulated to Count Thurn, who accompanied the Saxon troops, and who entered the city in triumph, whence he had fled with such precipitate haste. The effect of his presence was marvellous; the Protestants issued forth from their place of concealment, and astonished their enemies by their number, while the Catholics hastily retreated, and were despoiled by the victorious soldiers.

While Gustavus was reposing his troops, and receiving deputations from the king of England, and Louis XIII., whom the Catholics endeavoured to instigate against Sweden, Ferdinand was cherishing the expectation that the princes would rise against the invader, and drive him to his own shores. The Duke of Bavaria regretted the neutral steps which the princes had taken, and beheld with alarm the triumph of the king. He secretly assisted Tilly, and prepared to unite his forces with the recruited army of the imperial general. Gustavus became aware of his plans by intercepted letters, and hastened to invade Bavaria before the union of the troops could be effected. Donawerth fell into his hands, but Ingoldstadt resisted his attacks. He crossed the Danube near Rain, and opened a furious cannonade on the enemy. Tilly was shot, and died at Ingoldstadt; the second general was desperately wounded; and Bavaria retired to Ingoldstadt. Augsburg fell into the hands of the Swedes; but the refuge of the duke was impregnable; and Gustavus ravaged and subdued the country between the Inn and the Lech, and entered Munich in triumph. Bohemia was in the hands of the elector of Saxony; the Palatinate was freed from the Spanish troops, except in three fortresses; the electors of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz were driven from their territories; and Gustavus, with the greater part of Germany in his power, was rapidly advancing to the heart of the Austrian dominions.

The emperor was reduced to the utmost extremity. His army was without a leader; and in his desperation he resolved first to head it himself, and then to confer the command on his son Ferdinand. His military renown, however, was insufficient to attract adventurers; and his last hope of effectually opposing Gustavus centered in the distinguished general whom he had dismissed in disgrace. Wallenstein had retired to Prague, followed by the principal officers in his army. He erected a magnificent palace, and lived in a style of splendour, which would have done honour to the most illustrious sovereign. His servants were of distinguished families, his pages the sons of nobles, his gardens filled with rare plants, terraces, and fountains; and his table covered with a profusion of the richest delicacies, around which one hundred guests were daily invited. On the death of Tilly, Ferdinand turned to Wallenstein, and urged him to take the command of the army. He haughtily refused to serve under the archduke Ferdinand; but yielded at length to the earnest intreaties of the emperor, and promised to take the sole command for three months, and raise a well-disciplined army. The magic charm of his name attracted veterans to his standard; and in less

than three months, Wallenstein reviewed his troops, expressed his approval of their condition, and announced his intention of resigning his command. Affairs however, had become more complicated and distressing than when he assumed it; and the emperor entreated him to continue in his office, and even granted the exorbitant demands of the general. He appointed him generalissimo of all the imperial and Spanish forces in the empire; gave him unlimited control over the officers, the rewards, the confiscations of the enemy's property, and the establishment of peace; and promised to remunerate him, either from the spoils of the enemy, or the Austrian dominions.

Wallenstein placed himself at the head of his army, and after vainly endeavouring to detach the elector of Saxony from Gustavus, advanced to Prague, and expelled the Saxons from Bohemia. He delayed some time at Leutmeritz; then effected a junction with the Duke of Bavaria at Egra; and at the head of an army of 60,000 men marched towards Nuremberg which adhered to the Swedes. Gustavus hastened thither with 12,000 men, and was warmly assisted by the citizens. Wallenstein dreaded the presence and influence of the king, and took up a strong position at Zirndorf within sight of his opponent. Both armies remained for weeks inactive, and suffered severely from the want of provisions. Gustavus collected his troops from Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, and Lower Saxony, and attempted to draw out his adversary to battle. On the 24th of August 1632, he issued forth to storm the imperial camp, but his impetuous assaults were frustrated; and with the loss of 3,000 men he returned to the city. After waiting a fortnight, Gustavus abandoned a position which had sacrificed so many brave soldiers. Nuremberg lost 10,000 of its inhabitants, Wallenstein more than half of his troops, and the Swedish king nearly 20,000 of the confederate army.

Gustavus marched southward towards Bavaria, with the intention of ravaging Austria; and Wallenstein, instead of following him, pushed northward towards Saxony. Leipzig fell into his hands after a siege of three days; and he hastened to secure the passes of Thuringia, which would prevent a junction of the Saxons and Swedes. Gustavus relinquished his designs on Bavaria, and pushed rapidly through the forests of Thuringia, and ascended the Saal to unite with the Saxon army. Wallenstein retired towards Leipzig, and the Swedish King followed him, and came in sight of his army at Lützen, between Leipzig and Weissenfels at the close of the day. The skirmishers of both parties were engaged during the night, while the main armies were reposing. The dawn of the 6th of November was extremely unpropitious. A thick fog cast a gloom over the troops, and prevented the dispositions of the enemy being ascertained. At mid-day it rolled away, and the two armies were discovered drawn up in battle array. Wallenstein lined his trenches in front with cannon and musqueteers, and planted four squares of infantry in the centre, his cavalry on the wings, and his artillery distributed among them. Gustavus adopted the same plan as at the battle of Leipzig. A furious cannonade commenced at the dawn of day; and when the fog cleared off, the king put his army in motion. His infantry

rushed into the trenches, and were received with a galling fire; the presence of Gustavus re-animated their wavering ranks; and after many repulses they succeeded in driving the imperialists before them. Meanwhile the Swedish left had been exposed to the heavy fire of the musqueteers, and had given way before the cuirassiers. The king, attended by the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, and three followers, galloped towards the spot. A shot killed his horse under him; and when he had remounted, another broke his arm, a party of cuirassiers surrounded him, and a ball entered his breast. The king's charger, covered with blood and dust galloped fiercely towards his army, and conveyed to them the intelligence of the fate of their general. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who succeeded to the command, spread the report that he was merely taken prisoner; and the Swedes rushed to the rescue of their brave monarch. The imperial ranks yielded to their rapid attacks; the explosion of some powder waggons threw the troops of Wallenstein into confusion; and victory was in the hands of the Swedes. At this moment, however, Pappenheim, who had been hastily recalled from Lower Saxony, arrived with eight regiments of fresh cavalry. Their onsets caused the exhausted Swedes to waver; but the cry which was raised by the horsemen, "Pappenheim is killed and the battle is lost!" created a panic among his troops, and they galloped off the field. The fog again came on; and Wallenstein retired amid its thick folds, and left the Swedes masters of the field, and of his artillery.

The joy of the troops at their victory was mingled with sorrow for the loss of Gustavus. They found his body under a heap of slain, covered with blood; they laid him out in great state; passed before him in military parade; and then conveyed him with pious care to Stockholm. Those who best knew him felt that they had lost a warm and affectionate friend; a sagacious and commanding statesman; and a general, fertile in his resources, skilful in the execution of his designs, and courageous in danger and distress. His death was a blow to the hopes of the Elector Palatine. He was waiting at Mentz for the success of his protector, and anticipated a speedy restoration to his dignities. The news of the king's death chilled his heart, and blighted his prospects. He gave himself up to despair; a fever speedily followed, and cut him off in the thirty-ninth year of his age. The imperialists rejoiced greatly at the death of the king, and Madrid was for a long period a scene of unbounded festivity; but Ferdinand feared too much the power of Wallenstein to exult at the death of him who alone was capable of restraining it; and even the pope lamented his untimely end, and ordered mass to be said for the repose of his soul.

The death of Gustavus did not produce the anticipated effects on the war. The states of Sweden acted with great vigour and unanimity. They proclaimed Christina, the youthful daughter of the late king, queen; appointed the chancellor Oxenstiern to the command of the troops; and voted fresh supplies of men and money to carry on the war vigorously, till they could effect their purpose, and obtain an honourable peace. Hostilities were for a time

suspended on both sides. Wallenstein had retired to Bohemia; where, having punished several of his officers for their cowardice, and rewarded others for their bravery, he spent the winter in reposing his troops, collecting fresh levies, and storing his magazines. Oxenstiern renewed the treaties with the Protestant princes; and instead of their former separate alliances, united them in the league of the circles at Heilbron, with the exception of the Elector of Saxony. He restored Charles Louis, son of the unfortunate elector, to the electorate, and to those parts of the Palatinate which had been recovered by the Swedes.

While thus hostilities were suspended by mutual consent, Wallenstein persuaded the emperor to publish a general amnesty, and to conciliate the Protestants by moderate concessions. Ferdinand, influenced by his fanatical advisers, and the court of Spain, resolved to carry on the war, and imagined that his conquest would now be easy, as his troops were no longer opposed by the renowned Gustavus. The spirit of the departed hero, however, was still breathed by the generals and soldiers, and under the wise direction of Oxenstiern secured victory to their arms. Hostilities were renewed. The Swedes, under the command of the brave Duke of Saxe Weimar, occupied the Palatinate and drove the imperialists from Westphalia, Lower Saxony and the greater part of Silesia. Bohemia and Austria were also threatened. In May 1633 Wallenstein took the field against his foes. He despatched General Holk on the side of Egra to watch the proceedings of the Duke of Weimar, while he passed into Silesia, and Gallas was sent with 10,000 men to Dresden. He captured Counts Thurn and Duval with 5,000 Swedes at Steinau on the banks of the Oder; and obliged them to purchase their liberty with the surrender of all the places they held in Silesia. He resolved to carry his arms into Mecklenburg and Pomerania, to secure the shores of the Baltic, and cut off the retreat of the Swedes; but was prevented by the intrigues of his enemies at the court of Ferdinand.

The emperor was extremely jealous of the power of his general, and listened to all the suspicions which the enemies of Wallenstein breathed into the royal ear. He brought into Germany an army under the Infant of Spain, and the Duke of Feria, which, he declared, should be independent of the general; and he even requested him to send a body of his own troops to co-operate with Feria. Wallenstein remonstrated against this infringement of his compact with the emperor; and this and his recent acts were magnified by his enemies into evidences of his treason. He was represented as intriguing with the Protestants and the Swedes; and even aiming at an independent sovereignty. The indignation of Ferdinand was still further heightened by the Duke of Bavaria, who bore an implacable hatred to the general, and whose territories were still ravaged by Weimar. The emperor, at his instigation, ordered Wallenstein to relieve Ratisbon, which was besieged by the Swedes; but instead of repairing thither, he first sent his general Gallas, and then commenced his march after the fall of the place. The approach of the Saxons to Frankfort, and into Silesia, called him to Pilsen;

and soon after he disbanded his troops, and fixed them in their winter quarters.

The intrigues of his enemies grew every hour thicker and more menacing. The keen eye of Wallenstein saw the dangers gathering around him, and prepared to adopt measures to defeat the plans of his calumniators. He well knew the terror which the approach of the Swedes would awaken, if he disbanded his army, and allowed them to ravage the hereditary dominions of the emperor; and summoning his officers around him, he announced to them his intention of resigning to prevent the triumph of his enemies by procuring his dismissal. They were too much interested in their general to allow him to retire; their office and their pay depended to a great extent upon his renown; and they therefore drew up a memorial in which they requested him not to resign his command, and promised to support him at the risk of their lives and fortunes. His coming disgrace, however, separated some of his officers from him; among whom were Gallas and Aldringer. Octavius Piccolomini, an Italian mercenary, carried this paper to the emperor, and gave an alarming account of imaginary conspiracies, and rebellions, which threatened the safety of the royal family. Ferdinand, prepared by the previous intrigues, listened to these communications with mingled rage and horror. He gave the command of the army to Gallas, ordered the immediate arrest of Wallenstein, and instructed Piccolomini to seize his person, and capture him dead or alive. Gallas at once secretly secured Prague, Budweis, and Tabor.

Wallenstein was soon aware of the orders which had been given. He again summoned his officers, and received their further promises of attachment to him; dispatched his brother-in-law Tersky to seize Prague; and entered into negotiations with Weimar at Cham, and offered to surrender to him Pilsen and Egra, and bring over to them the best of his army. He had, however, unfortunately so often deceived the generals, that no reliance was placed on his representations. He retired to Egra, and renewed his efforts with Weimar and Oxenstiern, and hoped to be able to retain that fortified place, till he had completed his negotiation. Treachery, however, baffled his efforts, and defeated his plans. The governor of Egra, Gordon, a Scotchman, who had been raised to his dignity from a common soldier by Wallenstein, basely betrayed him. Butler and Leslie, whom he had likewise raised to posts of honour and confidence, made known his designs, and arranged a plan with the emperor for his assassination. Gordon invited Tersky, two favourite generals, and the secretary of Wallenstein to a banquet in the castle. Towards the close of the evening, two captains Geraldine and Devereux with fourteen ruffians were placed in the rooms adjoining the banquetting hall. On a given signal, they burst into the apartment, overturned the tables and massacred the generals. Devereux seized a halbert, and accompanied by thirty soldiers, followed Gordon up the stairs to the chamber where Wallenstein was sleeping. The sentinels gave the alarm; the chamberlain vainly attempted to prevent them entering the room of his master; the door was burst open and the assassins



entered. Wallenstein, hearing the tumult below, suspected the cause, and rushed out of bed, and was standing in his shirt at the window, calling loudly for assistance, when the door opened. Devereux advanced towards him, and fiercely exclaimed, "Are you the traitor who is going to deliver the imperial troops to the enemy, and tear the crown from the head of the emperor?" Wallenstein returned no answer. "You must die!" exclaimed the assassin; and a few moments of silence followed. Wallenstein spread out his arms with calm and dignified composure; the halbert pierced his heart; and the hero of the 'Thirty Years' War fell a victim to the gloomy jealousy of Ferdinand.

The tidings of his death spread rapidly through the town; the soldiers flew to arms to avenge the loss of their leader; but Gordon was prepared. He read in a firm tone the decree of the emperor, and recapitulated with marked emphasis the various acts of treason of their late general. The soldiers were awed; the faint murmur of disapprobation was hushed by the cry "Long live the emperor;" and they returned to their obedience. The assassins were well rewarded by the emperor; Gordon received the confiscated estates of Tersky, and the possessions of Wallenstein were divided among Gallas, Piccolomini, Aldringer, and Leslie. Several of the warm adherents of Wallenstein were taken; some were imprisoned, some secretly beheaded, and some were publicly executed. The court of Vienna published a long pamphlet to justify the assassination, and set forth the different acts of treason with which he was charged. Thus perished by the foul hands of base men this proud ambitious man. He possessed the talents of a great general, and claimed the merit of withstanding the greatest warrior of these times. His name has been loaded with infamy because of his supposed treachery; but the investigation of the papers he left behind him, has cleared him from the charge of treason; and his first act which can be regarded as at all approaching it, took place after he had been maligned by his enemies, and after the order of the emperor for his capture had been issued.\*

The death of Wallenstein did not create such confusion as might have been expected. The allied generals instead of embracing the opportunity of striking a decisive blow upon the enemy were disunited, and wasting their time in feuds. The emperor summoned all his powers, and resources, and displayed such activity and perseverance, that his generals were enabled to secure the greater part of the dominions which had been occupied by the Swedish troops. The confederates however still retained a strong position in the country. The Duke of Weimar occupied Ratisbon, and kept the Bavarians in check; the Swedes, the greater part of Alsace; the French, Lorraine; the Rhingrave Otho, the towns of Philipsburg,

\* In 1834, Dr. F. Förster published his researches among the archives of the Military Council at Vienna, which completely proved the innocence of Wallenstein; and the late emperor Ferdinand I. of Austria restored his estates to his descendants, the Counts of Waldstein.

Neuburg, and Friburg; and the generals Horn and Banner, some important towns in Swabia. The emperor appointed his son Ferdinand who had been elected King of Hungary, generalissimo of the imperial armies, and resolved to concentrate his attack first on Bavaria. He ordered the Infant of Spain, who was leading a large army for the defence of the Netherlands, to form a junction with the king's forces. The imperial army with Gallas and Piccolomini assembled at Prague; and leaving 10,000 men under Colloredo to watch the enemy in Lusatia and Silesia, marched towards Ratisbon, joined the Bavarians, besieged the town, and procured its surrender before the allied generals could assist it. The king marched rapidly with the intention of driving his enemy from the Danube. Donawerth fell by storm, and Nordlingen was invested. Weimar and Horn marched to the relief of the town, and attacked the intrenchments of the besiegers. Their rapid assaults were resisted by the bravery of the imperialists; and when they were retreating, the king pressed on their rear, broke their ranks, and gained a complete victory over them; 16,000 Swedes were slain, 4,000 made prisoners, and all the baggage and artillery captured. Horn was severely wounded, and taken captive, and Wiemar narrowly escaped with his life.

The defeat at Nordlingen produced important results on both parties. The royalists were elated, the confederates depressed; the fame of the former rose rapidly, while the fortunes of the latter proportionably declined. The Infant of Spain pressed vigorously towards Cologne; the Duke of Lorraine advanced to secure his duchy; John of Wert ravaged the Palatinate; Piccolomini swept the banks of the Main; and the King of Hungary captured Heilbron, and occupied Wirtemberg. The confederates assembled at Frankfurt, and were filled with indignation at the reverses of the Swedes, whom they denounced as the authors of all their calamities. The officers contended fiercely with each other; the soldiers, no longer animated with success, were mutinous, and demanded their pay. Oxenstiern alone was firm and undismayed, and turned towards France for succour. He entered into a league with Cardinal Richelieu, and procured from him the necessary relief. Money was furnished for the troops; 5,000 French joined the army of Weimar; and in the treaty it was stipulated that an additional army should be raised, that France should have possession of Alsace, Philipsburg and Spire, and that the confederates should assist in the conquest of Brisac. The compact was submitted to the confederates at Heilbron in March 1636, and was agreed to after a long and stormy debate.

The emperor meanwhile was endeavouring to gain to his side the Protestant princes who were wavering, especially the Elector of Saxony, who after the battle of Nordlingen entered into a treaty with Ferdinand called the Peace of Prague. This peace conferred liberty of worship on the members of the confession of Augsburg, and allowed them to retain the ecclesiastical property they had secured since the peace of Passau. A general amnesty was proclaimed, and the restitution of all the conquests made since the

arrival of Gustavus Adolphus stipulated for. Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Mecklenburg and Anhalt, and a few cities agreed to this treaty; but the majority of the Protestant princes rejected it, and continued their opposition.

Richelieu had long cherished a plan for the humiliation of Spain, and now availed himself of the present opportunity to carry it out. At his instigation, the Dukes of Parma and Savoy rose against the Milanese; the Netherlands were invaded; Alsace occupied by French troops; and an army under La Force sent to the Rhine. The vigilance of the imperial generals defeated his purpose. In Italy the Spanish were successful in dissolving his alliances. In the Netherlands the Infant of Spain with Piccolomini defeated the troops of his ally, the Prince of Orange. His armies on the Rhine were not more successful; and though Louis XIII. headed his troops, it was with great difficulty he could maintain himself in Lorraine and Alsace. The Austrian arms even threatened the invasion of France. The Spaniards ravaged Picardy, and pressed towards Paris; John of Wert reduced Coblenz; and Gallas captured Mentz, and burst into Burgundy. The capital of France was menaced; many quitted it in haste; and the members of the royal family were preparing to remove. Richelieu summoned his great talents at this important crisis, and collected an army of 50,000 men; with which Louis defeated the Spaniards, and drove them back. Gallas soon after withdrew from France. In the north of Germany the Swedes under General Banner, had recovered their spirits, and were anxious to retrieve their fortunes. They carried on a defensive war with the Saxons, and then retired into Pomerania to await the arrival of succours. Being assisted by France, Banner defeated the Saxons at Witstock, cleared Pomerania and Brandenburg of his enemies; repulsed the Saxons in many engagements, reduced Torgau, and besieged Leipzig. The Prince of Hesse Cassel also rose, and kept the imperialists at bay in Westphalia.

On the 15th of September 1636 the emperor summoned an electoral diet at Ratisbon to consider the terms of peace which the pope and the King of Denmark had proposed, and to secure the election of his son Ferdinand as King of the Romans. The conditions of peace were so hard that they were unhesitatingly rejected; and the electors, with the exception of Treves, fearing the designs of France, proclaimed Ferdinand king. The sovereigns of Europe, except France and Sweden, acknowledged his dignity. The emperor did not long survive; and soon after his return to Vienna, on the 15th of February 1637, the troubled reign of Ferdinand came to a close.

Ferdinand was endowed with capacities of no ordinary extent, though his talents were perverted by his intolerance and bigotry. His mind was comprehensive and active; and his perseverance and unbending will enabled him to carry out his plans with resolution. The bigotry, the ambition, and the suspicious tendencies of his nature prevented him adopting any really useful measure, if not congenial to his tastes. He was swayed almost entirely by his

Jesuits, who encouraged his superstition, and flattered his vanity. His intolerance led him to sacrifice without regret the peace of his empire, and the lives of his subjects to his religious scruples; and the false principles on which he acted rendered him the bane of his family, the enemy of his country, and the scourge of his age. In his private life he appears to have been a faithful husband, an affectionate father, and a charitable benefactor. He freely gave alms to the poor, liberated slaves in Africa, endowed convents of the Jesuits, and established schools and hospitals in his Austrian dominions. He left his country however in a most deplorable condition. "He found Austria Lutheran, thickly populated, and prosperous; he left her Catholic, depopulated, and impoverished. He found in Bohemia three million Hussites dwelling in flourishing cities and villages; he left merely seven hundred and eighty thousand Catholic beggars. Silesia, happy and blooming, was laid desolate; most of her little cities and villages had been burnt to the ground, and her inhabitants put to the sword. Saxony, the Mere, and Pomerania had shared the same melancholy fate. Mecklenburg, and the whole of Lower Saxony had been ruined by battles, sieges, and invasions. Hesse lay utterly waste. In the Palatinate the living fed upon the dead, mothers on their babes, brethren on each other. In the Netherlands, Liege, Luxemburg, Lorraine, similar scenes of horror were of frequent occurrence. The whole of the Rhenish provinces lay desert. Swabia and Bavaria were almost entirely depopulated. The Tyrol and Switzerland had escaped the horrors of war, but were ravaged by pestilence." \*

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## CHAPTER X.

FERDINAND III. A.D. 1637-1657.

THE death of the emperor did not stay the progress of hostilities. Hopes were fondly cherished by a few that the cessation of the rule of the intolerant Ferdinand must necessarily secure the removal of the calamities which it had produced. The war however had been of too long continuance, the feelings of all too exasperated, to permit a speedy peace, except on such terms as would be very distasteful to one party, and uncertain to the other. For a time the new emperor seemed to be successful in his operations. The death of the duke of Pomerania, with whom Sweden had forced an alliance, caused the elector of Brandenburg to claim that territory, and to entreat the assistance of Austria. Gallas united his forces with those of the elector, and obliged Banner to retire from his intrenchments at Torgau. While Banner attempted to create a diversion by bursting into Silesia, Gallas invaded Pomerania,

\* Menzel's Germany, § ccx.

defeated Wrangel, who was left for the defence of the duchy, and succeeded in reducing all the places west of the Oder, except Anclam, Stettin, and Stralsund.

The Austrian arms, however, received a check in the Netherlands by the splendid successes of the Prince of Orange; and on the Rhine by the conquests of the intrepid Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar. The latter boldly threw off the yoke of Sweden, entered into a treaty with France, and obtained large succours from Richelieu. He conquered the remaining territory of Alsace, drove John of Wert before him, reduced the Duke of Lorraine, and appeared on the Rhine. In the depth of winter he laid siege to Rheinfelden, which made a gallant resistance; but the approach of Wert and Savelli with a large army to its relief, brought on a desperate battle, and Bernard was forced to quit the field. While, however, the imperialists were rejoicing at their victory, the duke suddenly returned, took them by surprise, and completely routed them. Wert was taken prisoner, and sent to Paris; and Savelli was also captured, but afterwards escaped. He then reduced after a brilliant struggle Brisac, and returned to Burgundy, where he ravaged the country around. Richelieu was offended at his independence; and resolved to remove him. He bribed his most confidential officer Erlach, who, it is strongly suspected, procured his death. The duke was seized with a fever while prosecuting the siege of Thann in Alsace, and expired at Neuburg in the thirty-fifth year of his age A.D. 1639. Turenne justly eulogised him as a great master of military science; and Grotius styled him the greatest ornament, and the last hope of Germany. He bequeathed his army and his conquests to his brother; but Erlach delivered up the principal fortresses to Richelieu, and France ultimately secured Alsace, and Brisgau, took the Weimarian army into her pay, and gave the command to the duke of Longueville.

Meanwhile Banner recovered Pomerania, and drove the imperialists beyond the Elbe. Being reinforced with 14,000 men from Sweden, he planned with Weimar an attack on the Austrian dominions. He vigorously attacked and defeated the Saxons who opposed him, and pushed his victorious army into Bohemia. He routed the imperialists at Brandeiss, took their generals Montecuculi, and Hoffkirch prisoners, and appeared within sight of the walls of Prague. He was disappointed in his succours by the Duke of Weimar; and, on his death, retired beyond the Elbe to ravage that country. Ferdinand gathered a vast army, and placed it under the command of his brother Leopold, who, though an ecclesiastic, and called the angel because of his sanctity and prayers, occasionally exchanged the crosier for the sword, and highly distinguished himself for his military ardour and skill. He succeeded in driving the Swedes from Bohemia and Silesia into Thuringia. The withdrawal of some of the Austrian forces from the Rhine enabled the French to gain the ascendancy in those parts. The Duke of Longueville drove the Bavarians into Wirtemberg. The Prince of Hesse died in September, 1637, leaving an only son William to the regency of his widow. The contests which arose for

the regency caused the mother to enter into negotiations with the court at Vienna; but when her government was firmly established, she declared for the confederates, and furnished 5000 men to augment their army. The Duke of Brunswick also brought 4000 troops into the field. These forces united with Banner at Erfurt, and obliged the imperial army to retire behind the Weser in December 1640. Marshal Guebriant succeeded to the command of the Weimarian army on the death of Longueville.

The emperor summoned a diet at Ratisbon to deliberate on terms of peace; but his proclamations were unheeded by the Protestants, and he was unable to unite the princes, and induce them to support him against France and Sweden. Banner attempted by a bold and energetic march to surprise Ferdinand while holding his diet. He suddenly quitted his quarters in the depth of winter with 15,000 men, and united with Guebriant at Erfurt with 6000 French. He almost succeeded in capturing him near Ratisbon, saluted the city with a distant cannonade, and was alone prevented storming the place by the breaking up of the ice on the Danube, and the approach of reinforcements. Banner retired through Bohemia, and Guebriant to the Rhine. Piccolomini followed Banner into Saxony, and compelled him to retreat to Halberstadt, where the distinguished Swede died in May 1641; and during the contests which ensued for the command of the army, he succeeded in clearing Lusatia and Silesia, and establishing himself in Lüneburg and Hesse. Banner was succeeded by Torstenson, who had served under Gustavus, and had displayed the talents necessary to a great commander. Though so severely afflicted with the gout that he was obliged to be carried in a litter, he prosecuted the war with a vigour and success alone equalled by his illustrious master.

While Guebriant was opposing the imperialists under Lamboy, and ravaging the Electorate of Cologne, the Swedes traversed Brandenburg and Silesia, defeated the royalists in Moravia, occupied Neustadt, Littau, and Olmütz, and laid siege to Brieg. The town gallantly resisted; and Torstenson hastened into Saxony to protect that country from the efforts of the archduke Leopold, and Piccolomini. The two armies met on the 2nd of November 1642 on the plain of Breitenfeld near Leipzig; on the very spot where Gustavus gained that victory which opened to him the heart of Germany. The associations connected with the ground were sufficient to arouse the spirit of the combatants; and each army appealed to the heroes over whose graves they were contending. The battle was long and bloody; but victory at length declared for the Swedes. The imperialists lost 10,000 men; Leipzig surrendered; and Torstenson, after vainly attempting the siege of Freyberg, ravaged Bohemia, and took up his quarters in Moravia. At this important period France lost the services of her celebrated minister Richelieu, who died the 4th of September, 1642; and on the 14th of May the next year his master Louis XIII. followed him. The government passed into the hands of Cardinal Mazarin, who adopted the policy of his predecessor; and the regency of the youthful Louis XIV. was conferred on the

queen-mother Anne of Austria. Spain, whose power had received very severe blows in the Netherlands, and by Portugal, dismissed her able minister Olivarez, whose talents had long upheld the declining authority of the Spanish monarchy.

The defeat of the imperialists at Breitenfeld aroused the activity of the emperor. He secured to his side the Dukes of Brunswick by restoring to them some fortresses in their dominions held by his troops; and arranged a secret treaty with Christian IV. king of Denmark, by which he was to make a diversion by attacking Sweden. The Swedish states became aware of his intentions, and issued orders to their general immediately to commence hostilities against him. Torstenson quitted Moravia, crossed the Elbe at Torgau, and threatened the Upper Palatinate. Suddenly he burst into Holstein, took the astonished towns by surprise, and in six weeks secured the whole peninsula, except Gluckstadt, and Krempe. Gallas was sent with an army to succour the king; but Torstenson by the rapidity of his marches baffled his plans, drove him to Magdeburg, and defeated him on the borders of Bohemia, November 23rd, 1644. Guebriant meanwhile was successfully opposing the Bavarian troops, and on his death at the siege of Rothweil was succeeded by Rantzau, who was conquered by the Bavarian general Mercy, near Duttlingen, and his army almost annihilated.

A new enemy now appeared on the side of Hungary. On the death of Bethlehem Gabor, the late emperor attempted to annex Transylvania to Hungary; but the natives supported by Turkey resisted his efforts, and chose first the widow, and then the brother-in-law of Gabor; but their talents were insufficient to govern the province, and George Ragotsky, a powerful noble, was raised to the throne. The late emperor after a brief contest acknowledged his dignity on recovering the seven provinces of Hungary which he had ceded to Gabor. Ragotsky declared against Ferdinand III.; and while Gallas was in Jutland, he invaded Hungary, where he met with little opposition. Torstenson was again successful in Bohemia. Gallas was dismissed; the archduke once more issued from his cloisters, and collected the burghers of Prague. The imperial troops under Goetz in Hungary, and those under Hatsfeld in Lower Germany were recalled, and the command of the whole given to Hatsfeld. The armies met near Tabor in March 1645; the imperialists were routed with a great slaughter; Moravia submitted to the conqueror; and the bridge across the stream to Vienna was secured. The royal family fled to Ratisbon, and the capital prepared to sustain a siege. Torstenson however retired to Brünn, and besieged it; in which he was assisted by 8,000 Hungarians under the son of Ragotsky. In the north of Germany, the emperor was deserted by his allies. Konigsmark, a celebrated lieutenant of Torstenson, was very successful against the imperialists. He forced the Elector of Saxony to sue for peace, and subdued the Danes, who had also sustained a defeat by the Swedish navy; and the king was obliged to sign a treaty with Sweden and France, and give up his alliance with Austria.

The French after the defeat by Mercy the Bavarian general despatched an army under Turenne; who, being joined by 8,000 men commanded by the Duke d'Enghien, afterwards the celebrated Prince of Condé, gave battle to the Bavarians at Nordlingen, which had before witnessed the defeat of the Swedes. The loss on both sides was great; Mercy was shot dead; and John of Wert retreated with the shattered forces beyond the Danube. The emperor received the tidings of the defeat with great magnanimity. He silenced Ragotsky by yielding to him the seven provinces of Hungary, and drew his troops from Hungary to oppose Torstenson. This distinguished general retired from Brünn into Bohemia, and soon after was obliged by ill-health to relinquish his command to Wrangel, another of Gustavus's pupils, and return to Sweden. Turenne was driven out of Bavaria by the efforts of the archduke and Gallas, and to deceive the imperialists advanced towards Holland. He united his forces with Wrangel at Giessen, and marched towards the Main, captured Aschaffenburg, crossed the Neckar, and laid siege to Augsburg. Leopold, however, forced him to raise the siege, and to retreat towards the Lake of Constance. The Elector of Bavaria was weary of the contest, and sighed for peace. He entered into negotiations with the Swedes, and concluded a treaty with France. Ferdinand, when aware of his defection, attempted to seduce the Bavarian army under Wert; but the elector discovered the conspiracy, dismissed his general, and secured the allegiance of his troops. He soon after repented of his French treaty, renewed his alliance with the emperor, and hastened to regain his fortresses. Turenne again marched towards the Netherlands, where Piccolomini, who had just been created Duke d'Amalfi, was very successful, and threatened the invasion of France; and Wrangel, who had marched into Bohemia and reduced Egra, advanced towards Hesse, and united once more with Turenne. The allied generals proceeded towards the Danube, and came up with the imperialists under Melander at Zusmarshausen, May 17, 1647. The royalists were defeated, Melander killed, and the whole army alone saved from destruction by the skill of Montecuculi, who had gained his release. Piccolomini was recalled, reinforcements were speedily collected, and with an army of 22,000 men he succeeded in driving the confederates beyond the Danube.

Königsmark defeated the imperialists under Lamboy in the electorate of Cologne, and by a brilliant manœuvre threatened destruction to the city of Prague. When Piccolomini was advancing against Wrangel, Königsmark was requested to make a diversion on the side of Bohemia. He formed the bold design of surprising the capital, and in the dead of night approached the walls, killed the sentinel, and captured the little town of Prague. The alarm was given, and 10,000 burghers armed to defend the old town. The Swede waited till the arrival of Charles Gustavus, prince of Deux Ponts, who was hastening with an army of 10,000 men. The attacks of the besiegers were defeated by the energy of the citizens, who were directed by Conti, an experienced engineer. Breaches were



frequently made by the assailants; but when they rushed to the attack, mines were sprung, and buried them in the ruins. The arrival of reinforcements to the city caused the besiegers to suspend their operations. Königsmark still held the little town, and Charles Gustavus retired to Brandeiss. The next day, October 25, 1648, the news spread through the city that the treaty had been signed which was to restore peace to Germany; and it is rather remarkable that this war, which had ravaged the country for thirty years, should have commenced and terminated at the city of Prague.

While hostilities were actively carried on, since the death of Ferdinand II., negotiations had been made to conclude a lasting peace. In 1638 two congresses were held at Cologne and Hamburg, with the intention of dividing France and Sweden; but the two nations concluded a treaty between them, which united them more firmly. Afterwards Munster and Osnaburg in Westphalia were chosen as the arena where diplomacy was to fight her battles, and win her bloodless victories. After many delays the celebrated congress opened in the spring of 1644. The assembly formed a splendid gathering of the most illustrious men in Europe. France was represented by the Count of Avaux; Sweden by John Adler Salvius; the empire by Trautmannsdorf, "the most honest among all the ambassadors." The Dutch, Spain, Venice, the Pope, and all the German princes were likewise represented. For four years the demands on each side rose and fell according to the success of war. Spain concluded a separate treaty with Holland. All parties were heartily tired of hostilities; and at length after endless disputations, the terms of peace were signed at Osnaburg on the 16th of August, and at Munster on the 8th of September, 1648.

By the peace of Westphalia great alterations were made in the distribution of territory, and in the balance of power in Europe. France acquired the bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun; the city of Pignerol, and the right of a garrison in Philippsburg, Upper and Lower Alsace, with the imperial rights over ten free towns in Alsace. Sweden acquired Upper Pomerania, the town of Wismar in Mecklenburg, the archbishopric of Bremen, and bishopric of Verden as hereditary duchies to be held in fee of the empire with three deliberative voices in the diet, and an indemnification of 5,000,000 crowns to be paid by the circles which Gustavus came to protect. The emperor acknowledged the independence of the United States, and the Helvetic confederacy, which legally formed parts of Germany till this peace. Brandenburg acquired the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin as hereditary principalities, and the archbishopric of Magdeburg as a secular duchy. Brunswick gained the convents of Walkenried and Groningen, and the right of appointing a prince of the reigning house alternately with a Catholic bishop to the see of Osnaburg. Mecklenburg received the bishoprics of Schwerin and Ratzeburg as hereditary possessions, and two commanderies of the knights of St. John, with two voices in the diet. The Lower Palatinate was bestowed on Charles Louis son of the ex-palatine; and as Bavaria retained the Upper, and the county of Cham, with the

electoral dignity, an eighth electorate was created for Louis with the office of great treasurer. William of Hesse Cassel obtained the rich abbey of Hirschfeld as a secular domain.

The religious and political rights of the subjects occupied a considerable share of the attention of the conference. A general amnesty was proclaimed to those who had opposed the emperor. The treaty of Passau and the second peace of religion in 1555 were confirmed. The religious condition of any state was to be decided by its condition on the 1st of January 1624, except in the Palatinate which was to date from 1618. The Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists or as now styled the reformed, were to enjoy equal political rights. The jurisdiction of the bishop in Catholic territories was to remain in the hands of the bishop, but in Protestant to be vested in the prince. The princes acquired the right of concluding separate offensive and defensive alliances with foreign powers, and of keeping standing armies; and enjoyed almost sovereign power. The imperial chamber was to consist of twenty-six Catholics, and twenty-four Protestants; and six Protestants were to be admitted to the Aulic council. The deputations to the diet were to consist of an equal number of each party; but in special commissions where either religion was concerned, deputies of that religion should alone be summoned. Such were the general features of the treaty which gave peace to the distracted and desolated empire.

The remaining days of Ferdinand were spent in active endeavours to carry out the provisions of the treaty. He summoned several diets to consider the points which were left undecided, but wisely referred those which tended to limit his authority to future assemblies. He experienced some opposition from the pope, and the King of Spain, and also from the leaders of mercenaries who were thrown out of employ, and deprived of the opportunity of plundering. By his firmness and activity, he succeeded, after a slight outbreak, in finally settling the long contest respecting the Duchies of Juliers and Cleves by confirming the Count of Neuburg, and the Elector of Brandenburg in the possession of those provinces they respectively held. He was successful also in securing the dignity of the king of the Romans to his son Ferdinand, who had been previously crowned King of Hungary, and raised to the throne of Bohemia; but his hopes were speedily blighted by the death of the young prince, who fell a victim to the small-pox on the 9th of July 1654. His second son Leopold was acknowledged by the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian states as his successor; but the electors refused to invest him with the dignity they had conferred on his brother.

Towards the close of his reign, Ferdinand was again involved in a war with Sweden. Christina the romantic queen resigned her crown, to enjoy at Rome the sweets of retreat, and religious contemplation; and was succeeded by her cousin Charles Gustavus, Prince Palatine of Deux Ponts. A warrior by nature and practice, he revived the ancient quarrel with the King of Poland respecting the succession. He attacked Casimir, drove him into Silesia, and received the acknowledgment of the governors of the provinces,

and the submission of the principal towns. The Elector of Brandenburg made a diversion in favour of the Poles; but was routed by Charles, forced to acknowledge western Prussia a fief of Sweden, and to enter the war against Poland. John Casimir meanwhile had recovered from his first surprise; and with a large army of volunteers and Turks, captured Warsaw and other places. A bloody and decisive battle was fought near Warsaw, which lasted three days, and ended in the total defeat of the Polish troops. The emperor resolved to check the advance of Sweden. He summoned the imperial diet, and endeavoured to gain the support of the princes; stirred up the jealousy of the Dutch, and the czar of Muscovy; entered into an alliance with the Poles; and promised to assist them if they would raise one of his sons to the throne on the death of their king. Amidst these vigorous preparations, a fever prostrated the emperor; and the carelessness of one of his guards, who fell down with his infant son Ferdinand Joseph, gave the parent such a shock that he died an hour after on the 3rd of March 1657.

Ferdinand III. possessed neither the talents nor the vices of his father. He was mild and gentle in his disposition, prudent in his actions, and tolerant towards the scruples of others. His military skill did not render him conspicuous in the war which agitated the early part of his reign; partly because there were so many distinguished generals, whose talents were brilliantly displayed; and partly because the infirmity of the gout, though it did not restrain the activity of Torstenson, kept the emperor from the arduous service of the camp. His successes were more apparent in literature, and the arts and sciences, of which he was considered a distinguished patron. He was a fond lover of domestic enjoyments; and the solicitude with which he watched over his children occasioned the shock which terminated his life.

Before we proceed to the narration of the historical events of the reign of Leopold, it may not be uninteresting to take a rapid glance at the state of the empire, the church, the arts, science and literature during the age of the Reformation.

Since the time of Charles V. the power of the emperor had been gradually declining till it received the severe blow by the peace of Westphalia. The princes who had hitherto acknowledged him as their lord, and were bound by stringent rules, now asserted their independence, and obtained the authority to make peace or war, and to conclude treaties with each other and foreign powers without his consent. The imperial dignity, therefore, chiefly consisted in the fact that the emperor was the acknowledged head of a grand union of independent states, which combined to promote their own interests. The coronation however was still celebrated with the usual splendour. When Aix la Chapelle fell into dispute, the ceremony was henceforth performed at Frankfort on the Main. The sacred regalia, the crown of Charlemagne brilliant with diamonds, the golden ball, the sword and sceptre, the robes and rings were borne with great pomp and state. The bells rang their merry peal; the cathedral was filled with august persons and anxious spectators; the Archbishop of

Mentz received the oath, and anointed the emperor with holy oil, who after the service in the church, conducted the procession to the banquetting hall, where the great princes discharged their offices as cup-bearer, carver, &c.

The empire was loosely held together by the imperial diet, which was divided into three colleges, the electors, the princes, and the cities. The Elector of Mentz was the president in the absence of the emperor; and each elector possessed a vote which finally decided all matters. The princes were separated into two kinds, the temporal and the spiritual. The temporal were often subdivided into various branches by the division of property among the sons; among whom there frequently arose severe contests for the possession of the vote. The spiritual princes in the diet were those who had made themselves independent of the emperor. The imperial diet was also collectively divided into two parties according to their religion, the Protestant and the Catholic. The votes were taken on each subject, and the majority carried the decree. The princes gradually discontinued their attendance at the diet, and were represented by deputies or ambassadors; and the delay caused by the transmission of instructions weakened the influence of the diet, and caused it to decline, though the sittings became permanent.

The character of the court of the emperor, and of the princes was greatly altered. Luxury and licentiousness were openly manifested; gambling and excessive drinking became fashionable vices; and a crowd of mistresses, newly-created nobility, flatterers, and jesters enjoyed its festivities. The court of Versailles at the time of Louis XIV. was the model which every petty prince imitated as far as his resources would allow; and the sovereigns often greedily received subsidies to keep up their splendour. The courts of law were remodelled; the authority of the provincial estates declined; and the power of the prince rose supreme. The judges were appointed and salaried by the princes, and a vast number of advocates sprung up to defend clients from the complication of law. The proceedings were secret, carried on by writing, and absorbed such an enormous sum in costs, as to place justice beyond the reach of the poor. Various officers were appointed by the crown to collect the tolls and taxes, which were often levied with great harshness. The modes of punishment had undergone scarcely any alteration. The crest of the hills was frequently crowned with the gibbet and the wheel; and every provincial court was furnished with the rack, thumbscrew, boiling oil, and other instruments of torture. Men were still punished by having their tongues cut out, their limbs pinched with red-hot pincers, or torn off by horses, and by being confined in iron cages, and starved to death.

The mode of warfare had been completely changed since the introduction of gunpowder. The army was well drilled in field tactics, and formed into companies and regiments, with the proper gradation of officers. The lancers were armed with a long pike at the end of which was a halbert; the arquebusiers carried heavy guns which they fired resting on a forked stick; and the infantry handled

skilfully the musket. The heavy cavalry still retained the helmet and armour worn by the ancient knights; but the dragoons were free from this encumbrance, and were well armed with a carbine. The artillery was light, but now formed an important part of the military equipment. Mercenaries were frequently employed in the service of the princes to assist in the field in the time of war, and to garrison the fortress, or form the bodyguard in time of peace.

Though many of the free cities still enjoyed their municipal government, their number and influence were greatly on the decline. They reached their highest state of splendour towards the close of the fifteenth century. In the Austrian dominions their privileges were taken from them; Vienna and Prague, hitherto conspicuous for their freedom, now submitted to the emperor. In other parts of Germany the princes gradually absorbed the free cities; while in those which still remained, wealth and luxury exerted a deteriorating influence. The burghers imitated the princes and nobles in their dress and style of living, and were fond of display and extraordinary feats. The distresses of the Thirty Years' War caused them to fortify their walls, and enclose the city within narrow limits, that it might be more easily defended. Many of the imperial towns were nearly depopulated; and by the calculations of some historians the country is said to have lost half or two-thirds of her population during the war. The Jews were permitted to reside in their own quarter, though they were often bitterly persecuted. They were the great usurers of the age; princes condescended to borrow money of them, for which they paid an enormous rate of interest. The commercial prosperity of the Hanseatic towns had almost passed away; Bremen, Lubeck and Hamburg alone retained their independence.

The condition of the peasants was far worse than that of the lowest of the artisans. In Austria, Bohemia, and the hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, the serf was attached to the soil, and possessed no freedom. He had to work hard for his master, and was most scantily remunerated. Two days a week either personal service or a heavy fine was laid upon him, and enormous rents exacted for the wretched hovel he dwelt in. His life was one continued toil, which in the Protestant states was softened by the slight education given, and the influence of Protestant principle; but in the Catholic was rendered more dreary by the despotic sway of the priest. The only solace he enjoyed after the conclusion of his labours was his draught of beer, and the rude songs which depicted the happiness of his sturdy ancestors. The wars had so desolated the country, that for a long period the labour of the peasantry could not bring it to its former fertility.

The changes which had taken place in the church were very great. The Reformation had shaken her to her very foundation; the struggles between the Protestants and Catholics were long and terrible; and the people embraced first one faith and then another, according to the success of each party. The pope in the midst of the general fermentation would not consent to any diminution of his authority, and freely thundered his anathemas against those who despised his

pretensions. The Reformation, however, was of great service to the Catholic church. It placed an important check on the shameful excesses of pontifical rule; pointed out and remedied many of the abuses which had crept in among the clergy; and obliged the teachers to change their tactics, and enforce their dogmas with at least a show of reason. Amid the distresses caused by the religious wars, many of the spiritual bishops raised themselves to independence, and exercised supreme authority over their subjects. In the Austrian dominions, however, the bishops were completely controlled by the emperor, who was in his turn influenced by the Jesuits. The Protestants had often attempted to gain a firm footing in these dominions; but the intolerance of the emperors had driven them into exile, or forced them to submission. The Catholic church was mainly indebted to the efforts of the Jesuits for its preservation and efficiency. They constituted a powerful and well-organised society, were ruled by one head, swayed by one motive, and yielded implicit and blind obedience to the dictates of their superior. Among them were the most active missionaries, the most learned professors, the greatest statesmen, and the craftiest diplomatists. They were to be found at the courts of Catholics and Protestants, in the universities, and in all large towns. The Capuchins were their warm allies, and succeeded in winning the affections of the common people by their jocose addresses and their spiritual buffoonery. They were called the Jesuits' poodles. The great aim of the Jesuits was to raise the authority of the church, and to reinstate the validity of dispensations from the pope. As the court of the princes increased in licentiousness, their casuistry was eagerly accepted; and kings and nobles who were guilty of drunkenness, perjury, adultery, and even still worse crimes, found a comfortable assurance in the maxims of the followers of Ignatius Loyola.

The worship of the Catholic church presented a strange contrast to the simplicity of the Protestant. The ceremonies were even more splendid than formerly; and the robes of the priests, and especially of the bishops, were magnificent beyond description. Pictures, relics, amulets, and holy water abounded everywhere; sculpture, flowers, and music lent their charms; and at Vienna even a Catholic hymn-book was introduced in imitation of that of Luther. The Latin language, however, was still retained in the service of the church. The existence of the Protestant church was a continual protest against the Catholics, and became a standing witness to her corruption. The Lutherans and the Calvinists or reformed were distinguished as much by their practice as by their doctrine. The prince was the head of the community, which consisted of a number of separate churches, united into parishes under a deacon, and the whole ruled by a consistory. The clergy were dependent on the prince, who received the entire revenues, appointed the minister, and paid to him his stipend. In their mode of worship the Protestants banished the ceremonies of the Catholics, extolled above all compositions the word of God, delighted in long discourses, and sung in rich choruses their hymns of praise. The Lutherans, however,

paid greater attention to their form of worship than the reformed, were less austere and gloomy, and uniformly adopted liturgical services. The instruction conveyed in the Protestant schools and universities was of a more liberal character than that among the Catholics.

The reformation gave a great stimulus to the universities. The dead languages were studied with unwearied eagerness, and learned disputations were publicly carried on in theology, and medical and physical science. Law and jurisprudence formed a prominent branch, which was adorned with the talents of Chemnitz, who wrote on the treaty of Westphalia, and Grotius in his celebrated work *De Jure Belli et Pacis*. The study of medicine was greatly promoted by the labours of Paracelsus, and his successor; while astronomy was advanced by Fabricius, who discovered some spots in the sun, Simon Meyer, who announced the satellites of Jupiter, and Kepler, who explained the laws which regulate the distances of the planets from each other, and the direction of their course. Mining operations were facilitated by Agricola the famous Saxon mineralogist. The mental activity at the commencement of the reformation was seen by the remarkable inventions. Gunpowder and printing were discovered shortly before; clocks and watches were brought to great perfection; and the telescope and the microscope, the magic lantern and spinning-wheel came into use. Science, however, was but in its infancy. The belief in the supernatural, and in the influence of Satan, which Goethe has beautifully worked up in his legend of Dr. Faust, was very powerful. Most men were eager for charms to protect them; lovers for love potions; soldiers for bullets which never missed, and for amulets which would preserve them in battle. Philosophers were absorbed in their pursuit after the philosopher's stone; and emperors and princes were deeply engaged in alchemy. Every corner of any note then possessed its alchemist; and Rudolph II. who was styled the Prince of Alchemists, gathered around him the most zealous investigators. The thirst for gold was even greater than the Californian or Australian mania in modern times. A potter gained reputation for asserting that gold could be extracted from the Jews, and that the bodies of twenty-four Jews would produce an ounce of gold. The thirst for the elixir of life was equally strong; and it is stated that Trautmannsdorf, the imperial ambassador, had prolonged his existence one hundred and forty-seven years. Astrology also was diligently cultivated; and Paracelsus, Kepler, and Wallenstein firmly believed in the influence of the stars. Chiromancy, or the investigation of the lines of the hand, mesmerism, and a dreamy mysticism exerted a powerful influence on the philosophic systems of this period which were afterwards made known to the world by the illustrious names of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. It is also remarkable that the age of the reformation, when men's minds burst through the darkness of centuries, should be the age of the belief in witchcraft, and that both Protestants and Catholics should agree in condemning supposed witches to the stake. The suspected were tortured till they confessed, when they were slowly burnt alive. Old and young

women alike suffered; and in some districts the burnings were so frequent, that scarcely any women remained in the locality. The Bishop of Augsburg burnt two hundred and nineteen, and in every see the ecclesiastics were indefatigable in bringing them to the stake.

The Reformation was not very favourable to the fine arts. Architecture was not fostered; more churches were destroyed than erected; and in the few which were built, the Italian was preferred to the Gothic style. Painting, however, flourished. The Dutch set the example of painting in oil; and Albert Dürer of Nuremberg, and Hans Holbein in Basle brought their art to great perfection. Rubens had just given to his pictures that warmth and depth of colouring for which they are celebrated. Music also was promoted among the reformers. Luther was passionately fond of it; and it was related that he was once aroused to consciousness, when he had fainted in his cell, by the strains of some choral boys. The German theatre took its rise amid the disasters of the religious wars. At first the representations were of a religious character, and then comedy was introduced. Hans Sachs, a friend of Luther, composed five volumes of tragedies and comedies which were extremely popular. Amid the strife of politics it was natural that, as among the ancient Greeks, the plays should sometimes partake of a political and national character. Thus the depravity of the court was derided in the "Court Devil;" the scholastics in the "Academic Devil;" the sale of indulgences in the "Tetzeloeramia;" and the intemperance and immorality of German manners at this period in the "German Glutton." Great historical events were also brought upon the stage. The Siege of Weinsberg, or Woman's Faith; Luther's Life; the Muntzer Peasant War; the Clausensturm, or the victory of the Elector Maurice over the Emperor; and the tragedy of Wallenstein and Gustavus were represented. The Lutherans ridiculed the Calvinists in the "Calvinistic Post-boy."

The poetry of this period was different from that under the Hohenstaufen, when the Minnesingers poured out their flowing strains. The legends were coarse; the thirst for gold, and for adventure formed the prominent feeling except when the verses were directed against the papacy, religious hypocrisy, and political partisanship. Opitz was the greatest poet of this age. The squibs and sarcastic effusions of these times are remarkable; and their character may be discerned from the following titles of some of the principal. The "Merry Tales of the Parson of the Calenberg;" the "Monk's Ass;" the "Ship of Fools;" the "Praise of Folly;" the "War between the Ants and the Flies." The histories are very voluminous, and detail minute events with a characteristic German tediousness. Gottfried adorned his Universal Chronicle with elaborate engravings; Chemnitz wrote the Swedish War; Fugger, a work on Austria; and numerous other writers delineated public events, and provincial histories. German travellers explored different regions of India, China, and America, and have left their exploits duly chronicled. On the whole Germany was benefited in a literary point of view by the Reformation; but nevertheless suffered



as severely as she did politically from the religious wars. "Germany was a wilderness; its material strength was ruined; its political power was broken; its intellectual development was checked; and the fierce and manly spirit of the nation was crushed by their thousand arbitrary rulers, who themselves became slaves of the French. Divided into factions by the private interests of the princes, Germany became the theatre where the armies of all Europe met to settle the differences of their kings. This state of things lasted a hundred and fifty years, and ended with the destruction of the German empire by Napoleon."

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## CHAPTER XI.

LEOPOLD I. A.D. 1657-1705.

LEOPOLD had scarcely attained his eighteenth year when his father died. He experienced no difficulty in obtaining possession of Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria; but was opposed with great vigour by France in his claim to the imperial crown. The ambition of Louis XIV. was unbounded. He had gained, by the treaty of Westphalia, great influence in Germany; and he desired to secure the imperial dignity for himself, and to sway even a greater sceptre than did his illustrious ancestor, Charlemagne. He secured the electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Palatine by a gift of 110,000 dollars each; but was defeated by the opposition of the remaining electors, who preferred the diminished authority of a Hapsburg to the daring power of a Bourbon. His efforts to secure the election of the Duke of Bavaria, and the archduke Leopold were also fruitless; and after many delays, Leopold was unanimously chosen and crowned at Frankfort on the 31st of July 1658.

Baffled in his designs on the crown, Louis formed an anti-imperial confederacy which was called the league of the Rhine, from the proximity of the contending parties to that stream. The three spiritual electors, the Bishop of Munster, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, Hesse Cassel, the King of Sweden were allied with France, and agreed to maintain an army to support the validity of the peace of Westphalia. Leopold was prevented by this league interfering in the war then raging between France and Spain, and attacking the Swedish territories in Germany. He however renewed the alliance of his father with Poland, and sent Montecuculi thither; who took Cracow, and drove out Ragotsky, the ally of Sweden. The King of Denmark took Bremen and Verden, and the Dutch and English squadron blockaded Dantzic. Gustavus surprised his antagonists by his energy and skill. He drove the Danes from Bremen and Verden, ravaged Holstein and Jutland, and leaving Wrangel to besiege Fredericia, returned into Pomerania. Fredericia fell; and

the King of Denmark was exposed to the full force of the enemy. Leopold hastened to the assistance of his ally; Brandenburg, bribed by the gift of Western Prussia from Poland, collected his forces; the czar invaded Livonia; and the combined fleets shattered the Swedish navy. Gustavus rescued himself from his critical situation by a feat of daring, which excited the astonishment of the foes. It was a severe winter; and he marched his forces across the ice of the Little Belt, and captured the isle of Funen. He pursued his perilous journey across the Great Belt, struck terror into the hearts of the Danes by appearing at the gates of Copenhagen, and dictated through England and France a peace at Roskild, A.D. 1658. This treaty was shortly after violated. Leopold sent 10,000 Austrians to aid the Elector of Brandenburg, who subdued the Duke of Holstein, and drove the Swedes to Fredericia. Gustavus returned and besieged Copenhagen, while his fleet blockaded the Danish, and shut up the Sound. The Dutch always jealous of the naval power of Sweden, sent her distinguished admiral De Ruyter, who defeated the Swedes, relieved the capital, and transported the allied troops to Funen. An engagement took place near Nyborg; the Swedes were routed; and Gustavus, who beheld the defeat from the top of a tower, entered into a negotiation for peace. He did not live to see it concluded; he died of fever before the treaty of Oliva near Dantzic was signed at Copenhagen A.D. 1660. The terms, however, were favourable to Sweden; Livonia, Esthonia, and Pomerania remained in her possession. Holstein Gottorp, and Schleswig were separated from Denmark; and the duchy of Western Prussia confirmed in the possession of the great elector.

Meanwhile the war between France and Spain had continued with varied success. Condé opposed his rival Turenne; and the assistance of the English alone gave victory to the French. Jamaica and Dunkirk were secured to England; Ypres, Graveline, and other towns to France; and Spain was obliged to yield and sue for peace. Mazarin met the Spanish minister in the Isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenees, and drew up the terms of peace, by which Philip relinquished his pretensions to Alsace, surrendered Jamaica and Dunkirk to England, the succession of Juliers to the Count of Neuburg, and gave the infanta Maria Theresa in marriage to the youthful Louis, on his renouncing all claim to the Spanish succession, and receiving a dowry of 30,000 crowns of gold. A.D. 1660. This event was the source of many destructive wars.

The attention of the emperor was called to the state of Hungary and Transylvania. Ragotsky had been succeeded by his son George, a wise and able prince, who secured the favour and assistance of the Turks. His invasion of Poland, whence he was driven by the Austrians, offended the Sultan Mahommed; who deposed him, and compelled the states to raise Bartzai to the throne. Ragotsky was killed in a battle near Clausemberg, leaving a widow and one son named Francis, on whose behalf John Kennedy took up arms. The Turks occupied the chief fortresses in Transylvania; and Leopold sent General Souche to defend the Hungarian towns. Kennedy

deposed Bartzai, placed himself on the throne, and appealed to Leopold for assistance, who sent Montecuculi to his support. The Turks, however, expelled Kennedy, and appointed Michael Abaffy in his stead; and the deposed prince was shortly after killed in a skirmish with the Turks. The presence of the troops of Leopold awakened general discontent in Hungary, which was publicly manifested when he summoned the diet at Presburg to demand succours against the Turks. The nobles were clamorous for the removal of the foreign troops from the garrisons, which they said was contrary to their laws; and the Prince Palatine, whose office was to secure the laws from violation and to mediate between the sovereign and the people, was opposed to the emperor in his religion, and in his principles of government. The disputes at the diet ran so high that it was dissolved without effecting anything; and Leopold made overtures of peace to the Porte. Achmet Köprili, a distinguished vizir, resolved to take advantage of the distracted state of Hungary. He invaded it with an army of 100,000 men; and meeting with very little opposition, captured Neuhascl, threatened Vienna, and devastated as far as Olmütz. Leopold was confined to his palace by an attack of the small pox; and after endeavouring to obtain succours from the princes he convoked the imperial diet at Ratisbon. Supplies were granted after much disputation; the pope, Spain, Venice, and other states furnished contingents; and an army of 30,000 men marched to resist the foe. After many slight engagements, the Grand Vizir resolved to attack Styria, which was in a comparatively defenceless condition. Montecuculi gathered all the forces he could muster, and took up a strong position at St. Gotthard behind the Raab. The Janissaries crossed the stream, and attacked the Austrian troops, which wavered and retreated; but their brave general re-animated them with his presence, and succeeded in routing the Turks with a great slaughter. The divided state of the army, the intrigues of the French king, and the distracted condition of the empire prevented Leopold following up his victory; and nine days after he concluded a truce with the Turks for twenty years A.D. 1664. Transylvania was declared independent in the hands of Abaffy; the emperor received the towns he had taken from Ragotsky, and permission to erect fortresses on the Waag; and the Turks remained masters of Waradin, Neusohl, and Novigrad.

As Philip, king of Spain, had given his eldest daughter to Louis, he compensated Leopold, to whom she had been promised, with the gift of Margaret Theresa, his daughter by his second wife. Philip died in September 1665, leaving a weak and sickly infant Charles under the regency of his mother. In the following September the marriage of Leopold with the infanta was celebrated. The ceremony was scarcely concluded before Louis took advantage of the weakness of the Spanish government to seize the possessions which he had solemnly renounced before his marriage. He had long been secretly preparing for hostilities, and had intrigued among the German princes and foreign courts to prevent their interference. At the head of a large army, he burst into Flanders, and captured Tournay,

Douay, Lisle, and other towns; and the first campaign was concluded by the peace of Breda in July 1667. The Dutch, however, were alarmed at his designs; England forced Charles II. to interfere; and Sweden was piqued at the false conduct of France. The Triple Alliance was formed among the three nations to compel France and Spain to agree to terms of accommodation. Both the contending sovereigns feared a war with these powerful nations; and though they disapproved of the terms, they acceded to the peace of Aix la Chapelle, drawn up on the 2nd of May 1668, by which Louis retained possession of the towns he had taken.

The ambitious French monarch was not satisfied with his gains; and in order to carry out his plans of aggrandisement, exerted his powerful influence with Sweden, England, and the princes to unite them with him; and directed his arms to the subjection of Holland. He attacked the Duke of Lorraine, and opened through his territories a communication with Alsace. The combined fleets of England and France, numbering 120 sail, swept the seas; while Louis, dividing his army into three bodies under Turenne, Condé, and Luxemburg, attacked the United Provinces. The towns were quite unprepared, and quickly submitted to the conqueror; Nimeguen, Utrecht, and other cities opened their gates; and the French army advanced within three leagues of Amsterdam. Holland was in a most critical position. The sluices were opened, and the country inundated; the states were distracted by the clamour of the Orange and Republican parties; the troops were undisciplined and badly officered; and the people were reduced to such a state of despondency that they proposed to leave their country, and carry their kingdom and treasures to some of their distant colonies. The proud spirit of the nation resolved never to submit to France; the able De Wit and his brother were torn to pieces by the people on suspicion of treason; and the Prince of Orange was declared stadtholder, raised to the supreme command of the army, and nobly sustained the military renown for which his ancestors were distinguished. The Elector of Brandenburg concluded a treaty with Holland, and sent 20,000 men; and Leopold, dreading the power of France, united 18,000 veterans to the army of the elector. They advanced towards the Rhine, where they were opposed by Turenne; and after vainly endeavouring to pass the stream, the elector became dissatisfied with the court of Vienna, and concluded on the 10th of April 1673, a treaty with Louis, by which he agreed for a consideration to take no part in the war.

The Dutch were successful at sea. Three times their navy under Van Tromp and De Ruyter engaged the combined fleet off the coast of Holland, and warmly contested the supremacy of the sea. The emperor drew succours from Spain, and sent Montecuculi with 30,000 troops; who drove Turenne out of Franconia, and uniting with the prince of Orange, laid siege to Bonn. Louis withdrew his garrisons from the conquered territory except in Grave and Maestricht. Charles was forced by his parliament to make peace with Holland; and the Bishop of Munster renounced the alliance of

**France.** The Germanic diet voted large supplies; and the princes agreed to furnish not only their regular contingents, but also extra succours. The French, however, reduced Franche Comtè; Turenne overran the Palatinate, where his troops committed the most horrible excesses; and the Prince of Orange drove out the garrison from Grave. Louis was anxiously endeavouring to secure peace before any fresh disadvantage occurred; but the allies were desirous of war. In the campaign of 1675 Turenne was defeated and killed, and the French army obliged to recross the Rhine. The Swedes made a diversion in the north, and occasioned the withdrawal of the troops of Brandenburg, Brunswick, and Munster; but the imperialists under the Duke of Lorraine captured Philipsburg. France again was successful; her fleet swept the Mediterranean, and her troops carried their victorious arms into the Netherlands. Valenciennes, Conde, Cambray, St. Omer, Cassil, and other fortresses surrendered. A congress had been assembled at Nimeguen for the purpose of negotiating a peace; when Louis attempted to divide the allies; and failing in this, to win the Dutch by large concessions. The Prince of Orange repaired to England, and married Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and the heir-presumptive to the throne; and persuaded Charles to send an ambassador to Paris to demand from Louis the restoration of his conquests, and to threaten war in the event of a refusal. The preparations for opening another campaign were vigorously carried on by the allies. Louis anticipated them by menacing the empire, and capturing Ghent and Ypres in Flanders; and then made specific propositions to the conference at Nimeguen. He pacified England by bribing as well as threatening Charles; secured the Dutch by awakening their fear, and exciting their suspicions respecting the designs of the Prince of Orange on England; and detached Spain, which was impoverished and agitated by intestine feuds. The other allies were still clamorous for war; the Prince of Orange attacked the French marshal Luxemburg, and drove him from his position; but gradually the confederates were induced to sign the treaty A.D. 1670. France gained Franche Comtè, Cambray, Tournay, Valenciennes, and other towns in the Netherlands; the emperor merely exchanged Philipsburg for Friburg; and Brandenburg secured a small district on the banks of the Oder, and 300,000 crowns.

Louis by this treaty became the most powerful sovereign in Europe. His ambition, however, was by no means satisfied. He had been secretly carrying out his encroachments since the peace of Westphalia, which gave him a firm footing in the German territories. He commanded the nobles and towns of Alsace and the three bishoprics to renounce their connection with the emperor; and revived old obsolete claims on the territories which once sustained a relation to the ceded dominions, but had long since been disconnected. He also claimed the county of Chinay, Alost, and several districts belonging to the Archbishop of Liege. Leopold was appealed to by the King of Sweden, the Elector Palatine, and Wirtemberg, who held some of these towns, to redress their wrongs; but Louis trifled

with the demands of the emperor by affected negotiations, and suddenly reduced Strasburg, and annexed the county of Chinay. Leopold entered into a league with Sweden, Spain and Holland; and induced the princes, with the exception of the Great Elector, to furnish their contingents, and to improve the system of war by confining the soldiers to their respective circles, and paying them from a common military chest. The active intrigues of Louis greatly hindered the efforts of the emperor. He stirred up the Turks to foment the troubles in Hungary and to invade Austria, bribed the King of Denmark by a large subsidy, and fostered the jealousy of the Elector of Brandenburg. While Leopold was thus engaged, the French king in 1684 invaded the Netherlands, and captured Courtray, Dixmud, and Luxemburg. The increasing dangers which threatened them, awakened the fears of Spain and Germany; and in 1685 a truce was concluded at Ratisbon between France, Austria, and Spain, by which Louis retained possession of the territories he had taken, and the rights of supreme sovereignty in Alsace.

The power of France had now reached its zenith. Her finances, under the able administration of Colbert, were in a most flourishing condition; her navy, comprising upwards of 60,000 sailors, dared the united force of England and Holland; her army was brought to the highest degree of perfection in discipline and tactics by the stern yet masterly control of Louvois, minister of war, and Vauban, her indefatigable engineer. Louis was inflated by his recent successes, and in the insolence of his pride imagined himself irresistible. He seems to have realised his favourite expression, "*L'état, c'est moi.*" He treated other nations with the austerity of a conqueror; and it is not to be wondered at, if he domineered over all classes of his subjects, the nobles, ecclesiastics, and people. His minister Colbert, who exerted great influence over him, died; and shortly after in 1685 he revoked the edict of Nantz, which had secured toleration to the Protestants. The barbarities which had ushered in St. Bartholomew's day were repeated. The churches were destroyed, ministers banished, children torn from their parents to be educated in the Catholic faith, and the people cruelly massacred. Notwithstanding all the precautions taken by the king, vast numbers emigrated to England, Holland, and Prussia; and France lost the riches, manufactures, and influence of more than 500,000 persons.

Louis continued his aggressions in spite of the truce at Ratisbon. He seized fresh possessions in Alsace, extorted tribute from Treves, and lined the banks of the Rhine, Moselle, and the Saar with fortifications. The princes were not unobservant of these proceedings of the king. Leopold, though still engaged with his disputes in Hungary, waited for an opportunity of avenging the invasion of Germany. William, prince of Orange, had his Protestant feelings wounded by the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, and was desirous of curbing France. He influenced the King of Sweden in his favour; and the emperor gained the Elector of Brandenburg by giving up to him Schweibus, and the princes of Brunswick Luneburg by promising to them the electoral dignity. Louis had often cast

his longing eyes on the Palatinate. On the death of Charles Louis, his possessions were claimed by different persons. Philip William, duke of Neuburg obtained the electorate, but the Duchess of Orleans, sister to Charles Louis, and sister-in-law to Louis XIV., claimed the allodial property, and increased her demands until she required the surrender of the greater part of the territory. Louis threatened to invade the Palatinate if her demands were not granted. Great alarm was spread among the neighbouring princes. Leopold, the Prince of Orange, Sweden, Denmark, Savoy, and the German princes united in a Grand Alliance at Augsburg June 21, 1686, to resist the aggressions of France. Louis attempted to quell the opposition, and proposed to convert the truce of Ratisbon into a permanent peace, and to compensate the Duchess of Orleans. The imperial diet refused his conditions; and he took up arms to disband the allies. He interfered in the contested election to the See of Cologne, and thrust his troops into the principal towns in the electorate, except the capital which the imperialists secured. He sent 80,000 men into the Palatinate, and Treves; and in a short time conquered the whole country. Treves, Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Philipsburg fell into his hands.

While Louis was thus concentrating his efforts on the side of Germany, the Prince of Orange was enabled to respond to the wishes of the English nation, and to free them from the intolerant and bigotted rule of James II. He sailed with fifty vessels well armed, and landed at Torbay, where he was welcomed and joined by the nobility and gentry of the county. James escaped; the throne was declared vacant; and William and Mary were crowned amid the rejoicings of the people. This event was of the greatest advantage to the emperor and the Protestant kings. The whole of Europe, alarmed at the ambitious and unscrupulous designs of Louis, united to protect the interests of Holland during the absence of William, and hailed with delight the flight of the French protégé.

Hostilities commenced with the greatest vigour. Louis withdrew his forces from Germany; and, to protect his frontier by rendering the country incapable of supporting an army, gave orders to lay waste the Palatinate, and the provinces of the Rhine. The savage orders of Louvois were executed with the utmost rigour. About forty towns, and a vast number of villages were fired; and the inhabitants were either massacred, carried into France, or driven into the snow to perish. The imperial vaults at Spire were broken open, and the remains of the emperors desecrated; and some of the finest cities reduced to ashes. French incendiaries arose in various parts of Germany; in Bohemia three cities were destroyed, and in Prague 400 houses were burnt to the ground. These atrocities aroused the spirit even of the inactive German princes, and fired the allied troops with enthusiasm to avenge the burning homes of their comrades. The troops of Frederick, who had succeeded his father as Elector of Brandenburg, and those of Brunswick Luneburg, drove the French from Cologne and Treves. Another army under the Duke of Lorraine captured Mentz and Bonn, and drove back the

French. The Grand Alliance was solemnly confirmed at Vienna, and included England with the powers already mentioned. France unaided was enabled to resist this mighty combination by the wisdom of her generals, the discipline of her army, the resources of her exchequer, and the enthusiasm of her people. Catinat the French marshal reduced Savoy, and inflicted great distress upon the people. He was commanded by Louvois to destroy everything; and when he again applied for instructions, the savage minister replied "Burn and destroy, and burn again, that we may strike terror into the hearts of our enemies."

Luxemburg defeated the allies at the battle of Fleurus in the Netherlands; and Catalonia was ravaged. The French fleet under Tourville attacked and defeated the English and Dutch off Beechy Head, and Louis himself took Mons and Namur in April 1691; but his attempts to reinstate James II. on the throne of England were frustrated by the splendid battle of the Boyne, and the unfortunate king was obliged to remain a pensioner on the court of France. William, who had returned to Holland, and the allies were routed at Steinkirk in 1692. The French fleet, however, was defeated at La Hogue; and the Duke of Savoy drove back Catinat, and devastated Dauphinè. The next campaign was more favourable to France; the allies were defeated in the Netherlands and the duke of Savoy at the river Cisola, when Swabia was ravaged, and Heidelberg converted to ruins; the combined fleet was attacked at Smyrna, and the Palatinate was again devastated. William succeeded in recapturing Namur, in sight of the gallant French army; though on the Rhine, in Italy, and in Spain the advantages were decidedly on the part of the French.

All parties were growing tired of this desolating and unfruitful war. The German princes were jealous of each other, and of their head. Leopold had created a ninth electorate, with the office of arch-banneret, on behalf of the house of Hanover, which was conferred March 22, 1692, on Ernest Augustus as a reward for services which the duke had rendered to Austria in her wars. The electoral princes solemnly protested against this infringement of the Golden Bull, which fixed the number of electors; and when the emperor proposed to reinstate Bohemia in her electoral rights, which by some means she had lost, they raised such an outcry, that he was obliged to defer his design to a more favourable opportunity. The dissensions diminished the activity, which was never very great, of the German States; and the allies were now also anxious for peace. The disasters of war, and the intrigues of the Papists caused William to desire a cessation of hostilities rather than a war which could benefit only Austria. Holland had borne the burden of the contest, and groaned under its weight. Spain was too weak to indulge any hope of becoming victorious. Savoy was helpless, and had made overtures to France after the terrible battle of Marsaglia. Leopold was distracted by his wars with the Turks, his empty exchequer, and the disaffection of his people. France had lost her military director Louvois; her navy and army had absorbed her revenues; her commerce



and agriculture had failed; and Louis wished for peace, as the delicate health of the King of Spain indicated that before long there would arise a contest for the succession. Such being the feeling of the belligerents, on the proposition of Louis, a congress was opened at Ryswick near the Hague. A dispute arose respecting the preliminary basis; Louis succeeded in gaining the signature of England, Holland, and Spain; and though Leopold held out for two months, he ultimately signed the treaty on the 30th of October 1697. By the peace of Ryswick, Louis acknowledged William King of England, and agreed not to disturb his government. He re-established the commercial treaties with Holland, and surrendered to Spain almost all the places he had captured, doubtless with a view to conciliate the Spanish people, and dispose them towards him, when he claimed the succession to the throne. To Leopold he gave up all the territory and rights out of Alsace which he had claimed, restored Friburg and Brisac, Philipsburg and Kehl, and destroyed the fortifications on the Rhine; and Leopold in return ceded Strasburg to France. Louis gave up Lorraine to the duke, on condition of allowing French troops a free passage through his dominions. The treaty was decidedly beneficial to Austria and to the empire; though the possession of Strasburg, and the right of passage through Lorraine enabled France to take advantage of the anomalous condition of Germany, which really consisted in a number of independent states, always jealous of their head, at enmity with each other, guided by no fixed and stringent laws, and corrupted by richer powers.

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## CHAPTER XII.

LEOPOLD I. (CONTINUED.) A.D. 1657-1705.

WHILE Leopold was engaged in his French wars, he was constantly occupied with the affairs of Hungary, which was disturbed with intestine quarrels, by the incursions of the Turks, and the intrigues of Louis. The peace which Leopold had concluded with Turkey, after the battle of St. Gotthard, increased still more the disaffection of the Hungarians. The nobles formed several conspiracies, which, however, were crushed by the activity of the emperor. Peter Zrini prince of Croatia raised a powerful confederacy against the emperor. He secured Frangipani, Tatterback governor of Styria, Nadasti president of the High Court of Justice, and the young Count Ragotsky. The office of Palatine was vacant by the death of Wesselini, and the confederates, having intrigued with Abaffy of Transylvania and the Porte, assembled a diet at Cassau to select a Palatine according to their laws, and levied their troops. Leopold became acquainted with the conspiracy by treachery, and took immediate steps to defeat their plans. He despatched his troops into

Croatia, Styria, and Upper Hungary; Tatterback, Zrini, Frangipani, and Nadasti were secured, imprisoned, and executed; and Ragotsky was pardoned by admitting imperial garrisons into his fortresses. The emperor issued a proclamation declaring that the nation had forfeited its privileges; 30,000 fresh troops were quartered on the people; the principal nobles and fortresses were captured; the people reduced to submission by the heavy taxes and the ravages of the soldiers; and at length in 1673, the constitution of Hungary was changed, and the monarchy declared hereditary in the Hapsburg dynasty. The Protestant religion was abolished, and the churches shut up; the preachers were accused of conspiracy and two hundred and fifty of them publicly sold for fifty crowns each to work the galleys of Naples, from which they were ultimately released by the gallant Dutch admiral De Ruyter. The whole country was filled with desolation, and with the cries of injured innocence. The people were fired with the energy of despair. They raised the standard of revolt, and were assisted by the French, and the neighbouring princes. Count Tokoli, whose possessions had been confiscated, placed himself at the head of an army of 20,000 men, and burst into Hungary, where he was welcomed by the oppressed people. His efforts were crowned with success; towns and fortresses submitted; and his predatory parties even made incursions into Styria, Austria, and Moravia.

The emperor was unable, by his wars with Louis, to bring a large army to resist the progress of Tokoli. He therefore summoned a diet at Odenburg in 1681, abolished the new form of government, granted liberty of conscience to the Protestants, and offered to restore the confiscated property to the nobles. The concessions were too late. Tokoli secured, by the influence of Louis, the aid of the Sultan, who rejected the proposal of Leopold to renew the peace of 1664; and being assisted by Abaffy, he again ravaged Hungary. His marriage with the widow of Ragotsky secured to him the treasures and possessions of the family, with the strong fortress of Mongatz; and he entered Buda in triumph, and was inaugurated Prince of Upper Hungary with great splendour. The Sultan sent his grand vizir Kara Mustapha with an army of 200,000 men to unite with Tokoli; and the imperial general was obliged to recall the distant garrisons, and to retreat towards Presburg. The emperor made vigorous efforts to check the onward march of the Turks. The Duke of Lorraine was placed at the head of an army of 40,000 men, with which he attempted the siege of Neuhasel; but he was forced to retreat before the Turkish hordes towards Vienna, whither he was followed by the infidels.

The state of the royal city baffles description. The court fled amid the groans of the people; the roads were covered with all kinds of moving vehicles, filled with fugitives and their valuables; the churches were crowded by the aged and superstitious, and resounded with their piteous cries to Heaven for assistance. The skilful governor Staremberg aroused the energy of the citizens. The suburbs were destroyed, the fortresses repaired, and the students and burghers

trained for the defence of the city. The Grand Vizir came on in proud confidence; in a few days the place was completely invested, and a vigorous bombardment commenced. While the Duke of Lorraine was harassing the Turks and defeating Tokoli, the besieged were driven to the last extremity. Famine cut down more than the weapons of the enemy; the approaches were rapidly advancing; the outposts were all taken; and the storming of the place anxiously expected. The duke sent message after message to John Sobieski, king of Poland, to hasten his approach. The king left his baggage behind, quickened his forced marches, and uniting his forces with the duke, and the troops of Bavaria and Saxony, at the head of an army of 60,000 men, he climbed the Calenberg, and announced his arrival by firing three cannons. A transport of joy burst from each heart in the city; but the Grand Vizir was filled with utter consternation. He in despair led his men to storm the city; but they were daunted by the terror which was caused by an attack on their rear. The vizir retreated in the dead of night, and fled with haste to Raab; and when the Polish troops entered the lines, they were astonished at the booty they discovered. The Turks left all their tents, baggage, ammunition, and provisions; 180 pieces of artillery, the sacred banner of Mohammed, and the state papers, showing the intrigues of the French king, fell into the hands of the conqueror,

Sobieski entered Vienna on the following morning. The inhabitants flocked around him in great crowds; they hailed him as their deliverer, pressed to kiss his feet, and shed tears of joy in the fulness of their gratitude. The emperor entered the same city a few days after, and met with a very different reception. There were no crowds to greet him, no acclamations of joy; but stern reproaches for his timidity and weakness. He felt keenly his humiliation; he dreaded meeting his deliverer, and spent a considerable time in arguing as to what manner he should receive the king. "With open arms," exclaimed Lorraine; but the haughty monarch resolved to meet him on horseback. No spectator could have failed to observe the striking contrast between the two sovereigns when they met and embraced. Sobieski was all grace, dignity, and ease; a king; Leopold was stiff, haughty and repulsive; a rescued monarch. The people felt the ungracious treatment the hero received, and thundered their applause at him more raptuously.

After a short respite, the victors set out on a rapid pursuit of their foes; and in several engagements, they drove them out of Hungary to Belgrade, where Kara Mustapha was strangled by order of the sultan. The imperial arms under Lorraine, Louis Margrave of Baden, and Prince Eugene were very successful. Tokoli was defeated, and his power effectually curbed; Gran, Neuhasel, Erlan, and Buda fell into their hands. In 1687 the Turks were defeated on the plains of Mohacz, which caused such consternation at Constantinople that Solymán Pacha the general was beheaded, and Mohammed IV. solemnly deposed and imprisoned. Leopold took a fearful revenge on the unfortunate Hungarians. Under the pretext of suppressing a conspiracy, he established at Eperies a tribunal headed by Caraffa,

a blood-thirsty man; which has obtained the surname of the Bloody Slaughter-House of Eperies. Before this infernal court all who possessed wealth, popularity, or influence were dragged; and without the least show of evidence, condemned. Thirty executioners were constantly at work; an immense scaffold was publicly exposed; and the dungeons resounded with the shrieks of the tortured, and the groans of the dying. The right of electing and of restraining the sovereign was abolished; and the emperor sent the crown to the diet which he had convened at Presburg, and requested them to crown his infant son Joseph, and he would suppress the tribunal, grant a general amnesty, and restore their civil and religious privileges, except those respecting the sovereign. The cruel oppression they had endured, however, had not extinguished their love of freedom, and they nobly refused to give up the privilege they valued more than all others. They at length consented to allow the throne to be hereditary in the male line of the house of Hapsburg, either German or Spanish; but claimed the right of election on the extinction of the male line. With these concessions the young king was crowned with due splendour in the tenth year of his age.

Meanwhile Leopold continued his successful operations against the Turks. The King of Poland, Venice, and Russia attacked the Ottoman dominions; the Prince of Transylvania renounced his allegiance to the sultan; the fortresses in Servia and Bosnia submitted; and at the close of 1689 Great Waradin and Temesvar were the only possessions the Porte held north of the Danube. The next year the Grand Vizir Mustapha Köprili appeared with a numerous army, recovered Belgrade and the provinces beyond the Danube, and harassed Transylvania. The Margrave of Baden defeated the Turks, and Tokoli, who had united with them; and in the following year, he gained a splendid victory over them at Salankamen, in which 20,000 Turks and the vizir were killed. On the removal of the margrave to the command of the western German army, Augustus of Saxony carried on the war with the Turks, but gained no great advantage over them. In 1697 the celebrated Prince Eugene headed the imperial troops. He quelled an insurrection caused by Tokoli, and drove the Ottoman army from Peterwaradin. The prince followed the enemy, and came up with them when they were on the point of crossing the Teiss at Zenta. Part had already crossed; and though the emperor had dispatched a courier to command him not to risk an engagement, he could not resist the temptation which the favourable opportunity presented. He disposed his army with great skill, and on a given signal attacked the enemy in different parts at the same time. The Turks were taken by surprise, and increased their distress by their own confusion. They attempted to flee; they turned their arms against each other, rushed into the stream, and were cut down by the victorious soldiers. The carnage was most terrific; scarcely 1,000 escaped, and all the baggage, the artillery; 9,000 carriages, and 6,000 camels fell into the hands of the prince. Eugene carried his victorious arms into Bosnia, and reduced its capital; and returned to Vienna to receive the honours of a triumph

from the people, but the cold and ungracious reproof of the sovereign. The Turks were quite prepared for peace by this terrible defeat. Negotiations were commenced at Carlowitz, a small town near Peterwaradin, and a treaty was drawn up and signed by the plenipotentiaries. Russia gained the district of Azof; Poland received Podolia and Ukraine; Venice held the Morea, and several places in Dalmatia; and Austria retained possession of Transylvania and Hungary, except the district of Temesvar. Abaffy was still the nominal sovereign of Transylvania, though he constantly resided at Vienna; and shortly after, he transferred his authority to Leopold for an annual pension, and the dignity of a prince of the empire. The peace of Carlowitz forms a distinct era in the history of Europe. It advanced the power of the house of Austria, gave a stimulus to the encroachments of Russia, and caused the Ottoman empire, which once threatened the subjugation of Europe, gradually to decline.

Before the treaties of Ryswick and Carlowitz had been concluded, the succession to the Spanish monarchy was engaging the attention of the interested parties. The health of the weak and imbecile Charles was gradually getting worse, and demanded the appointment of a successor to the crown. Three claimants appeared for the prize; the emperor Leopold, the Dauphin of France, and Joseph Ferdinand the electoral prince of Bavaria. Leopold presented his claim as the last of the male line from Philip and Joanna, and in right of his mother Mary Anne daughter of Philip III.; the dauphin urged his suit in right of his mother Maria Theresa, who however on her marriage with Louis had renounced her title to the succession; and the electoral prince grounded his pretensions on the right of his mother the only surviving child of Leopold by the infanta Margaret, who also on her marriage had renounced her claim to the succession. Each party intrigued at the court of Madrid, and endeavoured to influence the decision of Charles. The interests of Europe would have been best preserved by the elevation of the electoral prince; but the secret designs of Louis frustrated the crafty plans of Count Harrach and the queen and her party, and filled the courts of Madrid and Vienna with alarm. The king exerted his powerful influence over the various states of Europe, flattered the vanity of the Spanish people, and to give a cloak to his designs induced England and Holland to unite with France, and conclude a secret treaty called the first Partition treaty, by which the Spanish monarchy was to be dismembered, A.D. 1693. Spain, the Netherlands, and the colonial possessions were to be given to the electoral prince; Milan to the archduke Charles, the emperor's second son; Naples, Sicily, the Spanish dominions in Italy, and Guipuscoa to the Dauphin.

The disclosure of this treaty filled the court of Madrid with the greatest rage. The people were indignant at the audacity of the three powers; and the king, having consulted his jurists and the pope, drew up his will, and appointed the Bavarian prince his successor. Leopold was highly incensed at the conduct of Louis, and still more confounded by the decision of Charles; and poured

out his bitter complaints. The hopes and fears of all, however, were dismissed by the death of the young prince in February 1699; and Madrid again became the scene of the deepest intrigues and disputations. Louis, still profoundly concealing his intentions, procured the signature of a second treaty of Partition, giving the deceased prince's portion to the archduke Charles, Milan to the Duke of Lorraine, and his duchy to the dauphin. This treaty awakened as much bitter feeling as the former. Leopold suspected the duplicity of Louis, though the king solemnly declared that the crown of Spain should never be united with that of France; and Charles II. and the Spanish nation deprecated the idea of a dismemberment. The archduke Charles was nominated by the Spanish king, and his presence with a body of troops was earnestly demanded. The agents of France increased their active exertions, and filled every influential position with their partisans. Discussions and disputes, flatteries and frowns were profusely employed; and the weak monarch was perplexed and undecided. Again he was persuaded to consult the jurists and appeal to the pope, and to relieve his agitated spirit, he consented. Under French influence the learned doctors pointed out the son of the Dauphin, Philip, duke of Anjou; and the pope requested Charles, as he valued the salvation of his soul, to nominate Philip. The king still felt an affectionate desire to promote the influence of his family, and preferred a Hapsburg to a Bourbon. He still hesitated; and his confessors, gained by France, appealed to his religious feelings, tormented him with the fear of death, and brought him to acquiesce in the wishes of the pope. He was rapidly sinking; and the will appointing Philip was hastily prepared, signed, and sealed. The king rallied for a short time, and wished to appoint the archduke; but his exhausted nature sunk under the excitement; and Charles II. expired on the 1st of November A.D. 1700. That very day his will was opened and read; the crown was secured to Philip; and it was stipulated that should he die without issue or ascend the French throne, it was to pass to the duke of Berry, and after him to the posterity of the archduke Charles, but the crown of Spain was never to be united either with France or the empire. Louis, after a faint show of resistance, acquiesced in the will, and presented his grandson to his court. Philip hastened to Spain, and was crowned with great splendour as Philip V.; the Austrian party was dismissed from the court; and the ministers were so subservient to Louis, that he once made the remark, "They have made me prime minister to my grandson."

The indignation which was manifested at the court of Vienna was most intense, and a bitter cry was uttered by all classes against French perfidy. Leopold resolved to appeal to arms, and wipe away the foul stain which he believed contaminated his honour. He was placed in a very critical position. The neighbouring states were unable to second his efforts; England was endangered by the factions in Parliament; the northern powers were deeply involved in the great struggle with Charles XII. of Sweden; the smaller princes were

luxuriating in their splendid courts, and deprecated the calamities of war; and Holland, though anxious to reduce the power of Louis, was obliged to yield to his influence. The emperor was undaunted, and, though alone, refused to acknowledge Philip king of Spain. He threw off his usual reserve and caution, and determined to enter into war, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the surrounding sovereigns. Louis made great preparations to withstand the coming storm. He gained the Duke of Savoy by marrying Philip to his daughter Maria Theresa, gave him the supreme command of the French and Spanish army in Italy, and introduced garrisons into the fortresses of Mantua. He secretly secured Bavaria, the Elector of Cologne, the Bishops of Liege and Munster, the Dukes of Brunswick Wolfembuttel and Saxe Gotha, and the Landgrave of Hesse; and succeeded in arousing Ragotsky in Hungary and the Porte by his intrigues. Leopold raised a gallant army of 80,000 men, arrested Ragotsky and conveyed him to Neustadt, and commenced a campaign in Italy.

Early in the spring of 1701 Catinat the French commander united with the Prince of Vaudemont, who commanded the Spaniards in Milan, and took up a strong position on the banks of the Adige. Eugene the imperial generalissimo assembled the veteran troops of Hungary; and while he amused the enemy with attempts on the Adige, he led his army over the Alpine rocks and fastnesses, which had hitherto been trodden only by the wild hunter, suddenly appeared in the plains of Verona, and took the enemy by surprise. By his skilful manœuvres, the prince succeeded in dividing the forces of the enemy, defeated a detachment at Castagnaro, drove Catinat from his position, and secured a free communication with the Tyrol, and a fortified camp at Chiari. Catinat was recalled, and succeeded by Villeroy, who vainly boasted he would soon set the Austrian princes dancing. He marched to Chiari, and attempted to storm the imperial camp, but was repelled with great loss; and Eugene was too prudent to leave his strong position in the presence of a large army. The winter compelled the French to retire; and the prince reduced the whole of Mantua except the capital, and occupied Mirandola.

These successes, which Leopold unaided was able to secure against the united armies of France, Spain and Savoy, gained for him the support of other kings and princes. William quelled the factions of England, and obtained the support of Parliament against the French king; who on the death of James II. had proclaimed the son King of Great Britain and Ireland, and created great indignation among the British people. The Grand Alliance was entered into by the Dutch, English, and Austrians; whose object was to procure for the emperor satisfaction for the Austrian claims on Spain, to prevent the union of France and Spain in the same family, and to wrest the Netherlands from France. Brandenburg was gained by conferring on the elector Frederick the title of King of Prussia, and the Dukes of Brunswick by the gift of the electoral hat. Leopold gradually united the princes with him, and procured from the diet at Ratisbon a declaration of war against Louis XIV.

The death of William king of England, gave the courts of Paris and Madrid a momentary exultation, which was speedily dissipated by the policy of his successor Anne; who, supported by the unanimous voice of the nation, by Marlborough the greatest general, and Godolphin the ablest statesman of that age, declared war against France May 15, 1702. Marlborough was sent to the Hague, and appointed sole general of the English and Dutch forces. The French, however, had taken the precaution of throwing fresh garrisons into the fortresses of the Netherlands. The excessive caution of the Dutch restrained the ardour and crippled the energies of Marlborough. He advanced with an army of 60,000 men, crossed the Meuse at Grave, forced the French to retreat into Brabant, and in less than two months captured Venloo and other places on the Meuse, and closed the campaign with the reduction of Liege. Meanwhile Louis margrave of Baden, the hero of Hungary, assembled his troops on the Rhine to the number of 40,000 men. His army was animated with the presence of the King of the Romans; he assaulted and captured Landau, which was deemed impregnable; and hastened to form a juncture with Marlborough. On the day of the surrender of Landau, the Elector of Bavaria treacherously threw off his mask of neutrality, took possession of Ulm, and created a dangerous diversion in the rear of the imperialists. He sent his general Count Arco to open a communication with the French general Villars, who contrived to steal a perilous march through the Black Forest; the count, however, was stopped by the Swiss, and forced to return to Bavaria; and the French were defeated by the margrave.

In Italy Eugene blockaded Mantua, and surprised Cremona, where he captured the French general Villeroi. Louis sent the enterprising and valiant Vendome to take the command, who being joined by Philip succeeded in defeating some parties of the imperial corps. The supremacy was stoutly contested on both sides; the advantages of force and supplies were with Vendome, yet Eugene, though but scantily supplied with troops, money, and ammunition, skilfully defended his posts, defeated his opponent at Luzara, and took up his quarters in Mirandola. The English carried out a plan which had been matured by their late monarch. A fleet composed of thirty sail of the line, besides smaller vessels, was fitted out and given to the command of Sir George Rooke, having on board 14,000 troops under the Duke of Ormond. They attempted an attack on Cadiz, but the enterprise failed; and they plundered Port St. Philip, and gained as Stanhope remarks "a great deal of plunder, and of infamy." Their want of success was amply compensated by the capture and destruction of a rich Spanish fleet at Vigo Bay, October 22, 1702. The total loss was estimated at more than eight millions of dollars.

The campaign of 1703 did not bring any great advantage to either side. In the Netherlands Marlborough was restrained by the timid counsels of his allies; he, however, succeeded in capturing Bonn in the electorate of Cologne, and the towns of Huy, Limburg and Guelders. Leopold concentrated his chief attack on Bavaria.



The troops of Franconia under Stirum were to occupy the Upper Palatinate, and a small force under Schlick to attack on the side of the Inn; while the Margrave of Baden was to guard the passes of the Black Forest. Notwithstanding all these preparations, General Villars succeeded in crossing the Rhine, and capturing fifty forts and posts between that river and the Black Mountains. He rested his troops for a short period; and in May commenced a most arduous and difficult march through a mountainous district, which could afford him no sustenance, and which was well guarded. He rapidly carried the passes, terrified the Germans by his vigorous onsets, and united with the Elector of Bavaria near Durlingen. While the French were fighting their passage to the Danube, the elector surprised Neuburg, kept Stirum and Schlick in constant alarm, defeated a body of troops at Einhorn, reduced Ratisbon, and joined the French army. Villars proposed to march at once to Vienna; but the elector was dissatisfied with the overbearing insolence of the French, and resolved to proceed into the Tyrol, and open a communication with Vendôme in Italy, while Villars remained in Bavaria to watch the movements of the Margrave. The elector pushed his troops through the Tyrol, entered Innspruck in triumph, and marched towards Trent. The brave mountaineers of the Tyrol rose to defend the passes; large masses of rocks and trees were rolled down upon the foe, when in the long narrow defiles; and after many wonderful escapes, the elector forced his way to his own country with the loss of two-thirds of his army. During the absence of the Bavarian army, the margrave united with the troops in the Upper Palatinate, and captured Augsburg before the French could secure it. Stirum descended the Danube, and came between the allied army and the camp at Dillingen. Villars rescued himself from his critical position by attacking and defeating Stirum at Hochstädt; but the indecision of the elector prevented him attacking the margrave, he gave up his command in disgust, and Marsin who succeeded him gained Augsburg and Passau. The Duke of Burgundy captured Brisac; and Tallard defeated a corps of 10,000 men at Spirebach.

In Italy the French under Vendôme continued to gain great success; though the defeat of the elector by the Tyrolese disconcerted his plans. Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy became dissatisfied with the French; he had gained important positions for his daughters, and dreaded the establishment of French power beyond the Alps. He listened to the overtures made by the allies, and joined the grand alliance on the 25th of October. Vendôme turned his arms against him; Piedmont was ravaged by his troops, and Savoy by Tessé. The approach of winter, however, caused the separation of the French troops; and the duke was reinforced by the imperial general Staremberg. The King of Portugal also united with the allies, and enabled the emperor to gain a strong footing in Spain where he still had a considerable party. This party was strengthened by the increasing influence of Louis at the court of Madrid. The grandees were disgusted with the rule of the foreigner; the unjust and exorbitant taxes pressed heavily on the people; and a bitter cry was

raised against the oppression of the Bourbon. A representation was made to Leopold by some Spanish nobles that Spain would prove an easy conquest; the maritime powers offered to convey Charles to the kingdom; and Peter king of Portugal agreed to furnish him with an army in return for some frontier towns which were to be ceded to him. Charles was solemnly proclaimed King of Spain at Vienna in September 1703, passed through Holland to England, shared in the Christmas festivities of the court of Anne, and was conveyed to Lisbon by a fleet under the command of Rooke.

Ragotsky succeeded in escaping from his chamber at Neustadt, where his grandfather Zrini had been confined, and fled to Warsaw, where he waited for an opportunity of entering Hungary. The warlike intentions of Bavaria led the emperor to draw most of his troops from Hungary; and Ragotsky embraced the opportunity to descend the Carpathian mountains and call the people to shake off the yoke of Austria. Montecuculi advanced against him, and again he escaped to Poland; but soon after he entered Hungary at the head of a small corps, and being reinforced by volunteers, succeeded in becoming master of the greater part of Hungary. The rebellion created great consternation at Vienna. Generals Heuster and Schlick were sent to oppose the insurgents, but were obliged to retire, one to Presburg and the other to Vienna. Negotiations were frustrated by the extravagant demands of the Hungarians; and they pressed onwards towards Vienna and planned with the French and Bavarians an attack on the royal city. Their plans were frustrated by the genius and bravery of Marlborough. He saw the necessity of preventing the junction of the Bavarians with Ragotsky, and of concealing his designs even from his allies. He arranged his plans with Eugene, and announced to his government and the States that he was about to act on the Moselle. At the head of 15,000 British troops, he reached Coblenz on the 25th of May 1704, where the French, fearing an attack on the Moselle, summoned Villeroy to oppose him. He rapidly passed from Coblenz to Mentz, crossed the Main and proceeded to Lauenburg, and then crossed the Neckar. His enemies were confounded by his strange and rapid movements, and drew their forces together for the defence of their frontiers. He secretly appointed Ulm for his junction with the troops of Eugene and the Margrave of Baden; and each general took his own erratic journey, and gradually united at Gieugen. The elector had detached Arco with 12,000 men to defend the heights of Schellenburg, while he occupied the entrenched camp at Dillengen. Marlborough forced the lines at Schellenburg, defeated Arco with a great slaughter, and compelled the elector to retire to Augsburg, where the duke attempted to gain him to the side of the emperor, and desert the alliance of France. He affected to agree; but was no sooner joined by Tallard with 30,000 men than he threw off his mask, and commenced hostilities. Marlborough ravaged the surrounding country, despatched the Margrave to Ingoldstadt, and followed the movements of the enemy.

The elector crossed the Danube with the intention of attacking

Eugene who had followed Tallard from the Rhine. Marlborough anticipated his designs, and by a bold and rapid march united with Eugene at Munster, and proceeded to occupy the strong post of Hochstädt. They found the enemy already intrenched there; and the British general resolved to risk an engagement. The troops majestically moved on in eight columns, and intimidated the enemy by their imposing appearance. The elector drew in his outposts and formed the order of battle into two lines. The right consisted of the troops under Tallard; the left, the united Bavarians and French commanded by the elector and Marsin. The allies numbered 52,000 men, and were undefended by any strong position; the enemy about 56,000 men, were strongly intrenched by marshy swamps, and by the villages of Blenheim and Oberclaw. At one o'clock the battle commenced, August 13, 1704. Lord Cutts attacked Blenheim, the prince of Anhalt Aberclaw; but both were repelled with a terrible carnage. Marlborough directed all his force to charge the centre of the enemy; and while animating his men, a ball threw his horse on the ground, and his troops halted and wavered. He rose covered with gory mire, and placing himself at the head of his cavalry, dashed across the marsh, and supported by his infantry, broke the centre with his repeated shocks. The French cavalry fled, and were driven into the Danube; Tallard was captured; the infantry was surrounded and taken at Blenheim. Eugene imitated the example of Marlborough against the Bavarians, and though he performed deeds of daring and brilliant exploits, the want of co-operation enabled the elector to withdraw his troops with little loss. The slaughter of the day was very great; the enemy lost 40,000 men, 120 pieces of artillery, 300 colours and standards, and their military chest; the allies lost but 4,000 killed, and 7,000 wounded. The victors crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, drove the wretched remnant of the army before them, and reduced the whole of Bavaria.

The electress entered into a treaty at Munich, by which she restored Passau, gave up all the fortresses of Bavaria, and the revenues, and retained for herself and her children only the ruined capital. Ragotsky was conquered by Heuster, and the greater part of the insurgents were either taken prisoners or killed. Marlborough received the thanks of the court of Vienna, and was presented with the dignity of a prince of the empire and the lordship of Mindelheim in fee. The English nation hailed their victorious general with transports of joy. The queen, the Parliament, and the people thanked him; his enemies sunk into obscurity; and the nation testified its gratitude by conferring on him the rich manor of Woodstock, a splendid palace, and a perpetual pension.

The campaign of 1705 opened with great preparations; but the aged emperor did not live to see the results. His health had long been declining; a lingering disorder shattered his frame; and Leopold died in the sixty-fifth year of his age, after an eventful reign of forty-six years, May 5, 1705.

Leopold possessed a diminutive person, weak constitution, sallow countenance, and awkward manners. He prided himself on his

Spanish dress, and repelled his subjects by his cold reserve, and his forbidding appearance. He was deeply learned in the sophistries of the Jesuits, by whom he had been educated; and appears to have been able to paint, sing, and compose with remarkable facility. As all princes were devoted to the dark sciences, Leopold paid great attention to alchemy and astrology; and from the scantiness of his revenues doubtless often sprung the desire for the possession of the secret which was to create gold at the bidding of the master. His private life was distinguished by chastity, religious zeal without bigotry, and unbounded charity; which is no small praise to award an emperor at a time when all the courts were celebrated chiefly for their licentiousness. The glory of the reign of Leopold was derived, not from any splendid talents or shining virtues in the sovereign, but from the brilliant genius which the great French and Hungarian wars brought into prominence. It was the good fortune of the emperor to possess great generals, and it was perhaps the greatest evidence of his wisdom that he allowed them unlimited control over their plans and operations. They brought the glory to the Austrian throne; the power of the sovereign was greater than at the peace of Westphalia; and under the same wise policy the house of Hapsburg was again to be respected and feared among the European nations.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

JOSEPH I. A.D. 1705-1710.

JOSEPH was twenty-five years of age when the death of his father called him to the throne. He had been most carefully educated by the prince of Salm, who excluded the Jesuits from influencing the mind of his pupil, and fostered in him an enlightened and liberal spirit. His bravery had been manifested by his daring exploits in the camp, and his talents gave great promise for the future. No important battle distinguished the campaign of 1705. The confederates were disunited, and their splendid armies paralysed by the fear, the caution, and the indecision of the princes. Louis had made his arrangements with great skill. Bavaria and Villeroy with 75,000 men were to act on the offensive on the side of the low countries; Villars with 55,000 was to protect the country adjacent the Moselle; Marsin with 30,000 was to defend the Rhine. He also sent reinforcements to quell an insurrection in the Cevennes, and to assist in the subjugation of the Duke of Savoy. Marlborough planned an attack on the Moselle, which was defeated by the supineness of the allies; and he hastened towards the Meuse, where he recaptured Huy and Liege, and demolished the French lines. The French secured Lorraine and the three bishoprics; and after both armies had

wearied themselves with marches and skirmishes, they retired into their winter quarters.

An insurrection of the peasantry in Bavaria threatened to create a powerful diversion in favour of France. The natives had been treated with the greatest severity, and they rose against their oppressors. A council was formed among them for the defence of the county; leaders aroused the people, and formed them into armies; and before long an army of 30,000 men swept over the country, and threatened destruction to Munich. The Austrian soldiers were sent to oppose them, and quickly scattered the disorganised masses; the ringleaders were hanged and quartered; and the peasants were ground down by additional taxes and severities. In Italy the French maintained their superiority, and made great efforts to conquer Piedmont, and detach Savoy from the emperor. Vendome subdued all the principal fortresses, carried after a long and terrible siege the fortress of Verrua, which formed an outwork of Turin, and prepared to advance to the capital. Eugene was vigorously opposing Vendome's brother in the Trentin; and by his success, drew off the attention of the French general from Turin, though he could not prevent the capture of Mirandola, Nice, Montmelian, and other strongholds. In Spain the imperial arms were very successful. After Charles had landed, the King of Portugal placed himself at the head of his army, and advanced to the frontier. Philip aroused his nobles, and rallied his subjects by his insinuating address, and led his troops to attack the allies. The English fleet attempted to surprise Barcelona, carried Gibraltar by storm, and defeated the French fleet off Malaga. Charles succeeded in taking Barcelona; Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia declared for the allies; and Philip was forced to retire through Navarre to his capital in December 1705.

The campaign of 1706 was distinguished by the splendid successes of the confederates, and the reverses of France. England and Holland sent large reinforcements to Charles; and a plan was formed to advance simultaneously to Madrid from Catalonia and Portugal. The Portuguese marched from Alcantara through Salamanca to the capital; and Charles passed through Aragon, and advanced to the suburbs. Madrid fell into the hands of the confederates; but their inactivity gave time for Philip to receive reinforcements, with which he recovered his capital, drove the Portuguese to their own country, and confined Charles to Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia. The allies, however, subdued the islands of Ivice, Majorca and Minorca, and maintained a firm footing in Spain.

Marlborough was opposed by Bavaria and Villeroy in the Netherlands, each with a force of about 70,000 men. The French suspected his design of seizing Namur, and quitted their lines to advance towards Tirlémont. Marlborough pushed on his army, and came up with the French near Ramillies, where they occupied a position strongly defended by nature. He resolved to risk an engagement at once, before they could fortify their position, and on the 23rd of May commenced his attack. The battle was long undecided;

the cavalry were driven back, and again led on by Marlborough in person; and at length the French ranks wavered and fled. They lost 7,000 killed, 6,000 prisoners, 50 pieces of cannon, and all their baggage; while the allies had scarcely 2,000 killed and wounded. Marlborough pressed on the enemy with rapid marches, and allowed them no time to rally. He drove them from Lorraine, their first resting-place, and received the submission of the states of Brussels; he pursued them to Ghent and Courtray, and procured the surrender of the principal towns in the Netherlands. Both parties made the most active preparations. Vendome was recalled from Italy, and reinforcements gathered from all parts of the kingdom. Marlborough also strengthened his army, and commenced hostilities. Ostend was stormed by sea and land, Courtray was threatened by a large corps; while the main army captured Menin the key of Flanders, and reduced Ath.

In Italy Eugene was again victorious. While an army of 50,000 men under La Feuillade was besieging Turin, Eugene was successfully baffling the new general sent out to replace Vendome. He secured the most important passes, bridged the numerous streams with remarkable celerity, and by a series of rapid marches and skilful stratagems, advanced from Verona to Villastellone; where he joined the Duke of Savoy, and hastened to relieve the capital. It was reduced to the last extremity. The outworks had been successfully carried; the ammunition was expended, the provisions exhausted, the garrison worn out, and every hour expecting an assault. The two generals ascended the heights of Superga, and gazed with wonder on the vast siege works of the enemy. On the 7th of September they attacked the besiegers, whom the report of the defeat at Ramillies had dispirited. The Prussians under the Prince of Anhalt commenced the attack on the left, and were thrown into confusion by the French cavalry. Eugene rushed into their midst, and rallied them; his horse fell, and his two attendants were slain; but waving his hat as the signal to his troops, he charged and carried all before him. The Duke of Savoy opened the centre after a dreadful carnage, and the Prince of Wirtemberg attacked the right. The troops issued from the city, and cut off the fugitives; while in the advanced trenches the French bombarded the place with great fury. But the day was lost to France. General Marsin died at Turin of his wounds, the Duke of Orleans was wounded, 2,000 men were killed, and 6,000 taken prisoners. The loss of the allies amounted to only 1,500 men. The French were thoroughly subdued; Eugene was appointed governor of the Milanese; Savoy received the provinces of Valenza and Alessandria, the Lumellina, and the Val di Sesia; and Joseph invested his brother with the Duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire.

The disasters of the French induced Louis to propose terms of peace. He offered to the States, and then to Marlborough, to give Charles either the Indies, Spain, or the Italian possessions, and afterwards proposed the same to the emperor. His terms, however, were rejected; and preparations for war were renewed. Joseph dreaded the influence of Charles XII. of Sweden, who was in Saxony,

threatening the northern princes, and was most assiduously courted by Louis. The influence of Marlborough and the conciliatory manners of Joseph, secured the warlike king; and a treaty of neutrality was signed with France for Italy, on condition that the French troops should march out of the country. In the Netherlands Vendome gave Marlborough no opportunity of coming to an engagement; and the campaign closed without any result. On the Rhine the troops of the Margrave of Baden were commanded by the Margrave of Bareith, whose incapacity enabled the French to force his lines, seize his magazines, and compel him to allow 10,000 sacks of flour to pass through his camp for their use. Joseph sent George Augustus, duke of Hanover, to supersede him in the command; and the two armies retired to their winter quarters.

The Austrian arms sustained a sad reverse in Spain. The courts and generals were divided, and the efforts of the armies frustrated by the jealousies between them. Charles separated from Galway and Das Minas who commanded the Anglo-Portuguese army, and retired to Catalonia. The two generals, contrary to the advice of Lord Peterborough, advanced into the kingdom of Mercia to attack the forces of the Duke of Berwick. He was encamped on the plains of Almanza with an army of 25,000 men, while their force did not exceed 17,000. Confiding in their superior skill, they commenced the attack. The battle was long and obstinate; the Portuguese cavalry wavered and exposed the infantry; Galway and Minas were wounded; and the entire army was routed. Valencia and Aragon were recovered by the royalists; and Charles was excluded from his conquests in Spain except in a part of Catalonia.

As the French were subdued in Italy, a project was formed to enter France from Piedmont. The reduction of Toulon was determined upon, and vast preparations were made for accomplishing it. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene entered Provence with an army of 35,000 men, with which they arrived before Toulon. The place, however, had been thoroughly repaired and fortified; an army under Marshal Tessè had scoured the country, and collected the forage; and another under the Duke of Burgundy was hastening to the relief of the town. Batteries were erected and opened; the English fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel bombarded the town by sea; and the fort of St. Catherine was carried; but the situation of the besiegers was so perilous that they abandoned their enterprise and returned to Piedmont with the loss of 13,000 men in a fruitless expedition. The conquest of Naples, undertaken by Count Daun, the brave defender of Turin, was easily effected. The pope opposed him, and thundered his interdict; but the people welcomed the general, and in three months the whole kingdom was in the hands of the allies.

The campaign of 1708 was rendered glorious by the splendid success of Marlborough. The German princes were inactive, the allies in Spain, though assisted by a corps of Austrians under Staremberg, were unable to resist the troops of Philip; but the English reduced Sardinia, Minorca, and other Spanish islands, except

Sicily and Elba. The greatest preparations were made in the Netherlands. France created a profound sensation in England by attempting to land the Pretender in Scotland; and the return of the whigs to power re-established the influence of Marlborough and Godolphin. The Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis, was appointed to command the army, assisted by Vendome; and Eugene conceived with Marlborough a plan to strike a decisive blow in the Netherlands. For a time the French were successful. Ghent was surprised, and the citadel besieged; Bruges fell into their hands; but the fort of Plassendael on the canal was carried by storm. Marlborough pushed forward a detachment to defeat the plans of the French on Flanders. On the capitulation of Ghent, the French advanced to reduce Oudenarde, but were anticipated by the rapid movements of the allies, who brought on an engagement on the 11th of July. The battle was favourable to the allies; and the approach of night alone saved the French army from being annihilated. They lost 15,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners; while that of the allies amounted to only 3000 men. They fled in confusion to Ghent and Courtray, where they were reinforced by Berwick. The allies invested Lisle, a town which was deemed impregnable, and a fortress of vast importance garrisoned by more than 13,000 men. The efforts of the combatants were prodigious. The siege materials had to pass through Brussels, and the provisions to be conveyed by a large army, which was threatened by the French forces. Eugene conducted the siege operations, while Marlborough covered his works. The Duke of Burgundy and Vendome attempted to raise the siege, but were defeated by the assailants; their efforts to deprive the confederates of their supplies were rendered ineffectual by the talents and resources of the generals; and a series of the most brilliant conflicts took place, in which the allies were triumphant. Lisle capitulated, when every effort to save it had been exhausted. Ghent surrendered, after a siege of three days. Bruges and Plassendael fell into the hands of the allies; and the lines of the Scheldt were occupied by them.

The decline of French influence caused Joseph to issue the ban of the empire against the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, and the Dukes of Mantua, and Mirandola; to confiscate their possessions; to invest the Elector Palatine with the fifth electorate and the office of cup-bearer; and to restore to Bohemia its electoral rights and privileges. He was able also to inflict a humiliating blow upon the pope, Clement XI., who was a warm partisan of France, and to compel him to acknowledge Charles king of Spain.

The disasters which befell the arms of Louis were rendered more galling by a dreadful famine in France, and the disaffection of the people. Louis was anxious for peace, and attempted, first by secret conferences with the States, and afterwards by open negotiations with the allies, to procure a cessation of hostilities. He offered to give up part of the Spanish dominions; to erect a strong barrier, and confer great commercial privileges on the Dutch; and to renew the terms of the peace of Ryswick. The allies, however, insisted on the cession of the whole monarchy of Spain, the establishment



of the peace of Westphalia, the erection of a barrier to the Dutch, and the aid of Louis to drive out his grandson from Spain. Louis indignantly rejected these unjust demands, appealed to the nation to support him, aroused their desponding spirits, and sent a powerful force into the field.

In the Netherlands both armies commenced operations in June 1709. Eugene and Marlborough assembled near Courtray; and the French under Villars near Douay, where they occupied such a strong encampment that the allies did not venture to attack them. Tournay was invested with 30,000 men, and the allied generals took post between the Scarpe and the Scheldt to cover the siege. The efforts of Villars to reinforce the garrison, raise the siege, and cut off convoys were baffled by the skill of his opponents; and he abandoned Tournay, and took up a strong position between the Lys and the Scheldt, which he rendered impregnable by numerous defences. Tournay fell into the hands of the allies; and to draw the French from their position, they invested Mons which was very weakly garrisoned. Villars assembled his forces to hasten to its relief, and took up his post at Malplaquet. His right was defended by the wood of Lagniere, his left by the woods of Taniere and Sart, and his centre stretched across a plain which was defended by redoubts and intrenchments. The infantry held the woods, and were posted behind the intrenchments; the cavalry was drawn up in two lines on the open ground; and the artillery commanded all the approaches. Each army numbered about 90,000 men. Eugene with the Austrians and Germans attacked the left with the greatest impetuosity. His troops frequently wavered under the deadly fire of the French; but he rallied them with his presence, and was shot by a ball when in the foremost of the ranks. The blood streamed from his face; but he refused to retire; and after a severe contest, he succeeded in driving his enemy before him, and outflanking the centre. The French reserves rushed to the point of danger, and weakened the centre towards the right; when Marlborough, who with the Prince of Orange had attacked the right, saw his opportunity, and pushed forward his infantry. The intrenchments were carried; the artillery thundered, and carried death in all directions; the French troops wavered and broke; and victory declared for the allies. Villars was dangerously wounded, and Boufflers, who succeeded him, covered the flight of the army, and the removal of the artillery. The allies lost 20,000 killed and wounded, and the French 14,000; but the moral effect of the victory enabled them to prosecute the siege of Mons without interruption, the capture of which terminated the campaign. The operations on the Rhine and in Italy were frustrated by the indecision of the princes, and the vigilance of the French; and no event of importance took place.

At the commencement of the next year, 1710, Louis renewed his negotiations for peace, and with his accustomed duplicity, assented, with a slight modification, to the terms of the allies; but in his explanations so interpreted their meaning that the plenipotentiaries rejected his propositions, closed the conference, and appealed to the

decision of war. Eugene and Marlborough anticipated the French by their early efforts before they were prepared to meet them. They took up a strong position on both sides of Douay, vigorously commenced the siege, and procured the surrender of the town on the 26th of June. They then marched on to Bethune, secured their communication with Lisle and Tournay, and invested the place with 18,000 men, while the main army covered the siege at Berle. Villars intrenched himself strongly between the Canche and the Scarpe, and awaited the fate of the town, which yielded after a siege of thirty-seven days. While the French were still intrenched, the allies employed the remainder of the campaign in reducing Aire, and St. Venant, and on their capitulation, the troops were dispersed into their winter quarters. Eugene retired to Vienna and Marlborough to London. The armies on the Rhine maintained the defensive, and on the side of Italy, Count Daun was defeated in his plans by the energy and skill of Berwick.

In Spain the allied arms, though at first successful, sustained a terrible defeat. The army of Charles was commanded by the English general Stanhope, and the Austrian marshal Staremberg; and the army of Philip by the Marquis of Villadarias. The latter invaded Catalonia, where Charles had maintained himself, and laid siege to Belquer; but the allied generals compelled him to raise the siege, and on his retreat brought on an engagement at Almenara. Stanhope led the charge, and routed the Spanish cavalry; and the entire army was alone saved from destruction by the approach of night. Villadarias retired to Lerida, and thence to Saragossa, whither the allies followed him. The Ebro was passed without opposition, and a bloody battle fought under the walls of the city. The loss of the enemy was very great; the soldiers were disheartened and fled; Philip with the wretched remnant retired to Madrid; and Charles entered Saragossa in triumph. Staremberg and Stanhope were constantly contesting their superiority, and opposing each other's plans. The former wished to reduce the neighbouring provinces, but the latter declared he would withdraw his troops if Charles did not march at once to Madrid. The king entered the capital, but found it nearly deserted, and the citizens who remained scarcely gave him a forced welcome. While he spent his time in indecision, Philip secured the aid of Vendome, the fidelity of his subjects, and the assistance of the grandees, who melted their plate, and armed their vassals to support their sovereign. Catalonia was menaced by the Duke of Noailles, and Charles was induced to retire thither. The difficulty of procuring supplies caused the troops to separate, and Vendome surrounded Stanhope in the town of Brihuega, who after gallantly resisting the attacks of the whole army for three days, was forced to surrender. Staremberg, when aware of the situation of his ally, assembled his troops and marched to the rescue; but when on the plains of Villa Viciosa, he beheld the defeat of Stanhope, and the advance of the Spanish troops. Both sides fought with the greatest bravery and impetuosity. Staremberg captured part of the enemy's artillery, but lost his baggage, and retired in the night to Saragossa. Each

party claimed the victory, which evidently belonged to Staremberg, though the difficulty of his retreat was such that he reached Barcelona with only 7,000 men of the splendid army which departed with him.

While these events were transpiring in the west, the emperor was kept in a continual state of alarm by the affairs of Hungary. The victory at Blenheim, and the presence of General Heuster caused Ragotsky to relinquish his plans of attacking Vienna, which he had concerted with the French, and the accession of Joseph introduced a more tolerant and enlightened rule for the unfortunate country. The emperor declared his intention of fulfilling the articles he had sworn to obey at his coronation, and of governing according to the privileges of the country. The partizans of Ragotsky disregarded the peaceful overtures of Joseph, formed a senate or council of twenty-four members, and entrusted the leadership of the league to Ragotsky. They demanded from the emperor the cession of Transylvania to their chief, the abolition of the hereditary sovereignty, and various privileges. These were refused; and both parties prepared for war. The insurgents increased their number to about 75,000 men, secured many of the principal towns in Hungary, defeated the Austrian general in Transylvania, and spread themselves along the frontiers of Austria, Styria, and Moravia. D'Herbeville, who had succeeded Heuster, was commanded to recover Transylvania, and drive out the insurgents; and after a series of slight but brilliant engagements, he was enabled to re-establish the Austrian government, A.D. 1705.

The next year Joseph attempted to win over Ragotsky by offering to him the dignity of a prince of the empire and Burgau, in order to stop the predatory incursions on his frontiers; but the gallant chief, who appears to have been actuated by the noblest patriotism, refused to become the vassal of an empire from which his country had received such injuries. In 1707, Ragotsky held a diet in the open air, and by the consent of the confederacy, solemnly pronounced Joseph a tyrant and usurper, animated by the innate despotism of the Austrian family. The emperor after exhausting his conciliatory measures, resorted to a vigorous military display. General Heuster was reappointed to the command, and quickly scattered the irregular hordes of the prince. On the 17th of August 1708, he came up with the main force under Ragotsky, who was investing Trentschen, to open a passage into Moravia and Silesia. The steady and disciplined troops soon threw the bands of the insurgents into confusion; and after a short contest, the chief fled with a few followers, leaving 6,000 men dead on the field and as many captured. Ragotsky was unable to rally his forces to any extent, and the passage of Heuster through the country was triumphant. Town after town rapidly submitted; the rash attempts of the few brave warriors were frustrated by the imperial troops; and at last Ragotsky fled to Poland with a saddened and despairing heart. Joseph respected the talents and intentions of the fugitive, and again offered to him the security of the imperial court; but he refused the friendship of a sovereign against whom he had felt it his duty to rebel. A general peace was arranged at Zatmar in January 1711, which confirmed the privileges

of the nation, and granted a general amnesty, the restitution of confiscated property, the liberation of prisoners, and the free exercise of the Protestant religion. This peace had scarcely been signed, when the career of the pacific emperor was arrested by death. He was seized with the small pox, which carried him off in the thirty-third year of his age, April 17, 1711.

The reign of Joseph, though short, forms a brilliant period in Austrian history. The lustre derived from the great qualities of the generals, who fought the Austrian battles, was increased by the shining talents of the emperor. His appearance was noble and engaging, his countenance beautiful, and his features lit up with intelligence and benevolence. His frame, originally weak and slender, was strengthened by the duties of the camp, and the pleasures of the chase; and his martial ardour often led him to expose his person before his accession to the throne. He was generous, forgiving, and kind; a devout Catholic, though tolerant towards the scruples of others. He was well versed in literature and science; spoke, besides his native tongue, Spanish, French, Bohemian, and Hungarian; was master of the Italian dialects; and wrote Latin with facility and elegance. His only son died when an infant, and his two daughters were distinguished, one as the wife of the King of Poland, and the other as the wife of Charles Albert of Bavaria.

## CHAPTER XIV.

CHARLES VI. A.D. 1711-1740.

CHARLES was indulging dreams of conquest and glory at Barcelona, in the company of his wife Elizabeth Christina princess of Brunswick Wolfenbittel, when the tidings reached him of the death of his brother, which secured to him the whole of the Austrian inheritance, and opened up the prospect of gaining the imperial crown. By the arrangements of Joseph, the empress mother as regent assumed the reins of government, and proclaimed Charles in Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria; and Eugene took active measures to secure the votes of the electoral college. Charles appointed a council for the direction of his affairs in Spain, and held out the most brilliant hopes to his faithful Catalans. He embarked at Barcelona, and on the 27th of September landed at Genoa, had an interview with the Duke of Savoy near Pavia, hastened to Milan, where he received the joyful tidings of his accession to the imperial throne, and proceeded to Frankfort, and was crowned emperor on the 22nd of December. A perpetual capitulation, confirming the privileges of the Germanic body, and limiting the authority of the emperor, was now ratified by the new sovereign, and became a *sine qua non* at the coronation of an emperor. He then hastened to Vienna to secure his Austrian

dignities, and was afterwards crowned at Presburg with the usual ceremonies.

Charles directed his first thoughts to active preparations for carrying on the war with France. The situation of Louis afforded a reasonable hope that one more decisive campaign would complete the series of disasters which had befallen the French arms. The country was in a state of famine; commerce was stopped; the revenues were declining; the court was divided; and the people were distracted with fear and distress. The accession of Charles, however, to the imperial throne created a total change in the disposition of the allies, and especially England. The whigs were displaced by the Tories under Harley; the queen transferred her favour from the Duchess of Marlborough to Mrs. Masham; and the disgrace of the distinguished general was at hand. His last campaign was characterised by the most masterly qualities. Villars had erected a line from Bouchain on the Scheldt to Arras, which he proudly called Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*; but the general easily burst through it, and invested and took Bouchain in the face of a large army. England feared the accession of Charles to so many dignities. She dreaded the revival of the power of Charles V.; and towards the close of 1711 preliminaries for peace were signed at London, by which Louis agreed to prevent the union of the crowns of Spain and France, to give a barrier to the Dutch, and satisfaction to all the members of the alliance. Marlborough was dismissed by the queen at the commencement of 1712, and shortly after was publicly charged in Parliament with peculation.

Charles took immediate steps to prevent the defection of England, and the treaty with France. Eugene hastened to London to persuade the queen to carry on the war; but his visits to Marlborough offended her; and he was represented by the Tories as forming a dangerous plot to fire London, seize the queen, and with the aid of Marlborough obtain possession of the metropolis. He retired from the capital in disgust, confident that the influence of Austria in the British Cabinet was at an end. The emperor sent Count Sinzendorf to Utrecht to break off the negotiations which had been commenced; but his energy and skill could not prevent England and France entering into a secret treaty. Charles made great preparations for hostilities, and hoped to be able to gain a victory which, at least, would afford him better terms of peace.

In the spring of 1712 Eugene took the command of the allied army, and was soon after joined by the Duke of Ormond with the British forces. His efforts were frustrated by the conduct of Ormond, who had private orders neither to risk a battle, nor undertake a siege, but to march to Dunkirk. The greatest indignation pervaded the British ranks; the soldiers tore their hair, and reviled their general; the officers sullenly shut themselves up in their tents; and each veteran sighed for the glorious days of Marlborough. The States refused Ormond a passage through Douay and Tournay, and the general seized the towns of Ghent and Bruges in the name of the queen. The allies felt keenly the base desertion of England; and

its effect was soon manifest. Eugene took Quesnoy; but Villars was enabled to capture the Earl of Albemarle with seventeen battalions, and to regain the ascendancy by the surrender of several towns. The allies gradually forsook the Austrian cause; the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal were won over to Louis; the Dutch embraced the opportunity of securing the favourable terms offered to them; and on the 14th of April 1713 the peace of Utrecht was signed; which received the adhesion of Spain three months after. Charles resolved alone to carry on the war; but the following campaign passed without a general action, and the exhausted state of his finances, and the clamours of the princes induced him to negotiate for peace; and on the 6th of March 1714 the treaty was signed at Baden. The terms were such as might have been accepted before the outbreak of war. England gained Gibraltar, Minorca, and some American possessions; Philip retained Spain and the Indies. The emperor received Naples, Milan, Mantua, Sardinia, and the low countries. A long dispute ensued between the Dutch and the emperor, respecting the Netherlands, which was finally settled in 1718 at the Hague, where it was agreed that the Dutch and Austrians should jointly garrison and defend the French frontier fortresses, and that their respective immunities should be preserved.

The attention of Charles was soon directed to the Turks. They had broken the peace of Carlowitz by declaring war against the Venetians. The princes of Europe became alarmed at their ascendancy; and the Venetians appealed to the emperor as the guarantee of the peace of Carlowitz. The Porte rejected his mediation; and Eugene passed with a brave and disciplined army to Peterwaradin, where the Ottoman forces were encamped. He immediately commenced his attack, and in a few hours killed the Grand Vizier and 30,000 Turks, took 50 standards, 250 pieces of heavy artillery, and immense booty. The next year 1717 he invested Belgrade, the key to Turkey, which was defended by a garrison of 30,000 men. For two months the place resisted his efforts; and the arrival of a large army to its relief filled the besieged with joy. The Turkish troops came on in the form of a crescent, and shut up the imperialists between the Danube and the Save. Eugene perceived the critical position in which he was placed, and hoped that the want of provisions would compel them to retire. His troops were daily thinned by the fire of the enemy and by disease, and he resolved to risk an engagement to extricate himself from his perilous situation. He left 20,000 men to oppose the garrison of Belgrade, and with less than 40,000 men he advanced to storm the intrenchments of the enemy, which were defended by 200,000 men, and a numerous artillery. Nothing could exceed the bravery and the enthusiasm of his troops, who, though impeded by a thick fog, rushed upon the foe with the greatest intrepidity. Eugene, seeing a post less defended than the others, charged sword in hand, and cut down all before him. The intrenchments were forced, the cannon turned on the Turks, and the large army completely routed. Belgrade surrendered; and on the 21st of July 1718 Eugene and the Grand Vizier met at

Passarowitz, and signed a treaty for twenty-five years, by which the Bannat of Temesvar, and the Bannat of Wallachia and Servia, Belgrade, and a part of Bosnia were ceded to Austria.

Charles had not yet acknowledged Philip king of Spain; whose ambitious wife Elizabeth Farnese laid claim to Tuscany and Parma, and infused great spirit and activity into Spanish councils by raising Alberoni to the dignity of prime minister. His fears of France aiding Philip were removed by the death of Louis XIV.; and the appointment of the Duke of Orleans as regent to the weak prince Louis XV. created a breach between the French and Spanish governments. Philip formed a numerous party in Paris, and aspired to the crown, notwithstanding his solemn renunciation of it; and the Duke of Orleans proposed an alliance with England to maintain the order of succession to the crowns of France and Spain, as settled by the Peace of Utrecht. Charles opposed it at first; but at length gave his adherence to the quadruple alliance, which was signed August 2nd, 1718, on the promise of the allies to effect the exchange of Sardinia for Sicily, for the protection of Naples. Meanwhile Alberoni was actively intriguing among the sovereigns of Europe. He gained Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy by the offer of the Milanese for Sicily, Peter the Great and Charles XII. by their hatred of George I. of England; he aroused the Jacobites, and fostered troubles among the Protestants in France; and carried on his intrigues with Ragotsky and the Turks. He dispatched the Marquis de Leda to Sardinia, who soon reduced the whole of the island, and in 1718 invaded Sicily and conquered the principal fortresses except Syracuse. The allies declared the terms of the treaty for which they would contend. Philip was to retain Spain; Don Carlos, Tuscany and eventually Parma and Placentia; Sicily was to be exchanged for Sardinia; and Philip was to give up all claims to the Netherlands, Milan and the Sicilies. Victor Amadeus agreed to these terms, and took the title of King of Sardinia; but Philip still refused. The Spanish fleet was destroyed by Admiral Byng off Sicily; Marshal Berwick entered Spain; the coasts of Galicia were ravaged by the English squadrons; Peter the Great was awed by an English Baltic fleet; Charles XII. died; and the imperial general Mercy defeated the Spaniards in Sicily, reduced their fortresses, and confined them to the walls of Palermo. The minister of Spain was sacrificed, and Philip on the 25th of January 1720 agreed to the terms of the alliance.

On the 2nd of August 1718, Charles promulgated a new law of succession to the inheritance of the house of Austria, under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. The family compact of Leopold, confirmed by Joseph and Charles, decreed that the succession should be in favour of the daughters of Joseph, in preference to those of Charles, should both die without male issue. Charles now reversed that, and settled the succession first on his own daughters, then on Joseph's, and afterwards on the Queen of Portugal and other daughters of Leopold. He compelled his nieces to renounce their claim on their marriage with the electors of Saxony and Bavaria,

and sought to gain by every possible means the guarantee of the European powers to the convention.

A dispute soon arose between the courts of Vienna and Spain respecting the claims of their respective sovereigns. Charles was unwilling to admit the dignity of Philip, and Philip equally disowned the titles of Charles. Each was reluctant to fulfil the conditions of the Alliance, and almost endless negotiations were carried on. By the talents and intrigues of the Baron de Ripperda, the emperor at length became reconciled to the king of Spain, who was deeply offended at the rejection of the Infanta, the affianced bride of Louis XV., and at England for holding Spanish possessions. In 1725 an alliance was concluded at Vienna between Austria and Spain, which confirmed the articles of the Quadruple Alliance, and contained two secret treaties, one of a commercial character, throwing open Spanish ports to the emperor, establishing an Ostend East India Company, and conferring privileges to Hanseatic towns equal to those which the Dutch and English enjoyed; and the other stipulated for the recovery of Gibraltar, and the amount of force each should furnish. Charles imagined that his alliance with Spain would overawe the neighbouring countries, that France would join heartily in his cause, and England give up Gibraltar without a blow. The demand for the surrender of that fortress was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. George obtained the ready consent of parliament, hastened to Hanover, and in 1725 concluded an alliance between England, France, and Prussia, to which were added the United Provinces, Sweden, and Denmark. Charles vainly boasted that soon England should tremble, and the United Provinces shake with fear; and formed a grand confederacy against the Hanoverian allies. He secured Catherine, empress of Russia; the electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Palatine; the introduction of a garrison into Brunswick to menace Hanover; and succeeded in detaching Frederick William, king of Prussia, from the English alliance, and in alluring him by splendid promises of an increase of territory to aid him in the conflict, and to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.

In February 1727 Spain commenced hostilities by the siege of Gibraltar; Catherine assembled her forces by sea and land; and Charles collected a large army in the Netherlands to invade Holland. The indignation excited in England united all parties to support the king. Three British squadrons were fitted out; one aided the Russians in the Baltic, another threatened the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, and a third blocked up the Spanish galleons in the Indies. A large army of Danes, Swedes, and Hessians were taken into British pay; and France brought a considerable force to the frontiers of Spain and Germany. These gigantic preparations were frustrated by a series of changes which often thwart the proud designs of men. Catherine died; Prussia wavered; the German princes deserted Austria; the Spanish court was unable to fulfil its promises; Ripperda was disgraced, and betrayed the secret treaties; the shameful venality and duplicity of



the court of Vienna was exposed; and Charles, humbled and disappointed, sacrificed Spain, by signing the preliminary negotiations for peace with England, France, and the United Provinces. Philip, deserted by Austria, saw no other alternative than humbling himself to the allies, and likewise signing the preliminaries.

Though both sovereigns had agreed to the negotiations for peace, Spain did not raise the siege of Gibraltar; and the death of George I. and the accession of George II. in England, renewed the hopes of the emperor, that England would prove his friend and ally. Hostilities were threatened on all sides. Charles vacillated according to the prospect of success, first towards Philip, and then towards the allies, until the King of Spain, urged on by his queen, demanded a clear statement of the intentions of Charles respecting the marriage of an archduchess with Don Carlos. The answer was not satisfactory, and Philip concluded a separate treaty with France and England at Seville on the 9th of November 1729, in which the allies guaranteed each other's possessions, settled the forces for securing the succession of Don Carlos to Tuscany and Parma, and claimed the introduction of 6,000 Spanish troops into Italian fortresses. Philip revoked the privileges of trade granted to the subjects of the emperor. Charles was very indignant at the manner in which he was treated by the alliance, and resolved rather to stand alone in a general European war than submit. His sanguine nature led him to expect that the dread of Bourbon influence would restrain the British nation, and that Prussia, Russia, and the princes would come to his aid. He had, however, miscalculated his own position, and the disposition of his friends and enemies. Russia could not assist him, Prussia regarded her troops with too great affection to waste them in unnecessary strife; Sardinia declared for the allies; and Charles was forced to give up the idea of daring the united armies of Europe. Fortunately the discord and jarring interests of the powers leagued at Seville, enabled him to disunite England from France. Cardinal Fleury laboured to conciliate the two branches of the Bourbons; the birth of the dauphin banished from Philip all hopes of securing the crown of France; and Spain declared herself free from all the engagements contracted by the treaty of Seville. Charles made secret overtures to England; and proposed to sacrifice the Ostend company, and to permit the Spanish garrisons in Italy, if England would guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. The English ministers feared the reconciliation of the Bourbons, and listened to the proposal of the emperor; and on the 16th of March 1731 the treaty of Vienna was drawn up between Austria and England, by which the propositions of the emperor were accepted, and the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed. Spain shortly after revoked her declaration against the peace of Seville; and on the 22nd of July the disputes respecting the Spanish succession were finally terminated in a treaty between Austria, England, Spain, and the United Provinces.

Meanwhile a most cruel persecution was raised against the peasants of Salzburg by the archbishop, for their adherence to the simplicity of their faith, and their refusal to bend to the shameful corruptions which had spread through all grades of the ecclesiastics. They were

crucially beaten, exposed to the cold, and imprisoned in loathsome dungeons. They formed a confederacy, and bound themselves with an oath to lay down their lives rather than deny their faith. The emperor was induced by false representations to proceed against them with the greatest severity. A decree was issued for their submission, and 6,000 men sent to enforce it; who fell upon the helpless peasants, dragged them from their homes, and plundered their property. The King of Prussia alone ventured to remonstrate with Charles, but without effect. The archbishop resolved to banish the rebels from his dominions. They left their own lands and houses, and emigrated to various parts. Some crossed the sea to America, and others found a refuge in Holland; but 16,300 settled on the lands granted to them by the King of Prussia near Tilsit. Their children had been inhumanly torn from them to be educated by the Jesuits, though many managed to break from their instructors, and beg their way to their parents. A similar persecution befell the secret Protestants in Austria. Some were carried to Transylvania, others were banished from the country; while their wives and families were retained, and compelled to embrace Catholicism.

The great object of Charles was to secure the succession of his daughter Maria Theresa by means of the Pragmatic Sanction; and he made every event contribute to the possession of the guarantee of foreign nations. He had already secured Spain, Prussia, Russia, England and Holland; and employed his influence to secure the consent of the princes. By procuring the settlement of the Protestant disputes, which arose from an obnoxious clause in the treaty of Ryswick, he gained the guarantee of the Elector of Hanover, and after great exertion, of the whole of the Germanic princes, except the electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatine. Saxony and Bavaria protested against it, because of their claim to the Austrian succession through their wives, who were daughters of Joseph; and Palatine, because the succession of Berg and Juliers had been promised to Prussia on the death of the present duke. France fostered the opposition of these electors, and concluded an alliance with them.

Charles soon after procured the guarantee of Augustus, king of Poland, by securing his succession to the crown. Augustus II. was rapidly declining in health, and Charles was anxious to place on the throne a prince in whom the crown might be hereditary, and who was free from French influence. Several competitors appeared for the prize, on the death of Augustus; but they were speedily reduced to two, Augustus son of the deceased monarch, and Stanislaus Letzinski, who had been placed on the throne by Charles XII. of Sweden, when Augustus II. was forced to abdicate, had occupied the duchy of Deux Ponts till the death of Charles XII., and lived in splendour in Alsace after the marriage of his daughter with Louis XV. Stanislaus, supported by French influence and treasure, was elected by a majority in the diet at Warsaw, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Austria and Russia. The disaffected, joined by the army of the czarina, chose Augustus king, and marched towards the capital. Stanislaus retired to Dantzic; the remainder

of Poland submitted to the arms of Russia; and Augustus was crowned at Cracow, and took possession of the throne.

The interference of the emperor involved him in a war with France, Spain, and Sardinia. He imagined that France would not venture to oppose him, when guarded by the numerous treaties he had contracted with foreign powers; and he little expected that he should be deserted by the sovereigns on whom he relied. England would not involve herself in a foreign war. Holland was secured by French influence. Prussia was jealous of the emperor. Denmark was unable to respond to his wishes. Sardinia, at the very time when Charles was assisting the king to arm his troops and store his magazines, was intriguing with Louis, and deceiving the emperor. A grand plan was formed by France to attack Austria in all parts of her dominions. A French army under Villars united with the King of Sardinia, and burst into the duchy of Milan where the imperialists were taken by surprise; and in less than three months, Mantua alone remained in the hands of the emperor. On the Rhine Charles made active preparations, gathered a large army, and forced the lines of Etlingen to defend the passages of the Rhine.

Count Mercy was dispatched to Mantua in February 1734, and by a series of brilliant movements drove the French to Parma, and occupied the cities of Guastalla, Mirandola, and Reggio. Villars had retired, and was succeeded by Marshal de Coigny, who took up a strong position near the city of Parma, which he strengthened by deep fosses and intrenchments. Mercy resolved to storm this encampment, and giving the left column of his army to the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, marched at the head of his right. The two regiments which first advanced were mown down by the enemy's grape. Mercy was mortally wounded, and his division was thrown into confusion. Wirtemberg rallied them, and again rushed to the attack; two horses were killed under him, and he was badly wounded; but the impetuosity of the soldiers caused the French to give way, and after ten hours incessant fighting to retire to Parma. The imperialists were masters of the ground, though they were obliged to quit it, and retire to Reggio. The loss on both sides was very great; most of the distinguished officers had fallen; 10,000 men were stretched on the field; though neither prisoners nor standards were taken. Konigsegg was sent to take the command of the Austrians, and by a bold stroke drove the French from their position on the Secchia with the loss of 2,000 men; but when he attacked the allied army near Guastalla, he was obliged to retire, after having received and inflicted great loss. The troops were shortly after distributed into their winter quarters. Meanwhile Don Carlos assumed the government of Parma and Placentia, captured the chief cities of Naples, and secured the conquest of Sicily, except the fortresses of Messina and Syracuse.

On the side of Germany the campaign was opened with great preparations. The French under Marshal Berwick forced the lines of Etlingen, where the Duke of Wirtemberg was posted; who retired to Heilbron, and resigned his command to Eugene. The prince had

remonstrated with the emperor against interfering in the Polish election, and did not expect to be able to resist the French with the small disunited and undisciplined army at his disposal. He arrived in time to witness the capture of Philipsburg by the French, which cost them Marshal Berwick, who was killed by a cannon ball. Still the renown of Eugene's name, and the skill of his dispositions prevented the French advancing into Germany, and making further conquests.

The emperor was very indignant at the refusal of England to assist him, after the king had even urged him to place Augustus on the throne of Poland. A series of diplomatic correspondence ensued. Eugene, as well as Charles, wrote privately to George; secret agents were dispatched to arouse the nation, and defeat the pacific measures of the cabinet; but all that could be extorted from England was the offer of her mediation to procure peace, which after many fruitless efforts Charles consented to accept. England had secretly matured a project with France, in which it was stipulated that Stanislaus should retain the title of king, but give up the throne, Don Carlos be acknowledged King of the Sicilies, and the King of Sardinia be indemnified with Tortona, and Novara. The allies, however, were averse to these terms. The French were indignant at Cardinal Fleury for securing no advantage to the monarchy. The Queen of Spain objected to Parma and Tuscany passing out of her family. The King of Sardinia was alarmed at the progress of the Bourbons in Italy.

War was meanwhile carried on. Stanislaus fled from Dantzic, and passed through the most romantic adventures into Prussia; and all Poland submitted to Augustus. A dispute arose between Spain and Portugal which threatened hostilities between them. England made great preparation for supporting Portugal; and the emperor gladly accepted the overtures of the king to aid him against the Spanish. Parliament, however, still declined to assist the emperor, and dissipated the last hope of receiving succour from the maritime powers. Eugene with an army of only 30,000 men continued to keep the French in check, though their force amounted to 100,000 men. In Italy the allied troops were successful in their efforts; Don Carlos reduced Messina and Syracuse; Mirandola capitulated; and Mantua the last imperial possession was besieged. The attempt of Charles to secure Spain by giving the Archduchess Maria Theresa to Don Carlos was frustrated by the remonstrance of the high-minded princess. She had been betrothed to the Duke of Lorraine; she had inspired him with the most passionate love, and shared the same passion for him. She dreamed of him by night, and thought of him by day, and resolved to surrender herself to him alone. She was ultimately married to him at Vienna on the 12th of February, 1736.

Charles resolved to enter into a secret treaty with France alone, and the preliminaries were signed at Vienna October 3rd, 1735. The war was still carried on without any great event. Mantua was relieved by Konigsegg; the Spaniards retreated into Tuscany; and a virtual suspension of arms took place. The difficulties of arranging

a treaty were very great, but were finally surmounted; and first France, then Sardinia, and afterwards the Kings of Spain and Naples signed the treaty, April 21st, 1739. Stanislaus received the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, which were to revert to France after his death; the Duke of Lorraine gained Tuscany; Don Carlos was acknowledged King of Naples and Sicily; the King of Sardinia obtained Novara and Tortona, and a few small lordships; the emperor received Parma and Placentia; and France and Sardinia guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

In the midst of the negotiations war was raging between the Turks and Russians. The czarina Anne, under the pretext of repelling the Tartar invaders, poured an army into the Crimea under General Munich, while another took the town of Azof. The Turks made overtures to the emperor to negotiate for peace; but he listened to the persuasions of the czarina, and prepared to invade the Ottoman territory adjacent to his dominions. Prince Eugene, the worthy coadjutor of Marlborough, and a consummate general, died in 1736 at the advanced age of seventy-three; and the command of the army was given to Seckendorf, whom the prince had recommended to the emperor as the fittest person for that office. He was, however, a Lutheran, and was regarded by the ministers and chief officers with the greatest jealousy. He repaired to Hungary, where he found the army in a most deplorable condition. The troops were wasted by sickness, and exposure to the weather; the provisions were very scanty; and ammunition, artillery and arms were insufficient for the soldiers; the fortresses were dilapidated, and the magazines exhausted. He immediately endeavoured to remedy this forlorn state; arranged his plans with great skill and ingenuity; and procured from the emperor the promise that no change should be made in his dispositions without his consent. The council of war assured him an army of 126,000 men, everything necessary, and a monthly sum of 600,000 florins; but by his greatest exertions he could only raise 26,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, and 4000 irregulars, and was disappointed in his supplies.

The troops assembled at Belgrade in July 1737; and after many delays Seckendorf prepared to march and invest Widdin. When all his arrangements were made, he was commanded by the emperor to capture Nissa, which completely frustrated his plans. He, however, obeyed; and though in his march across the mountains and swampy districts, he lost numbers of his men, he succeeded in reducing Nissa. He dispatched Kevenhuller to invest Widdin, and Marshal Wallis to occupy the opposite bank of the Danube; while he remained at Nissa for further orders. The cabals of his enemies prevented the accomplishment of any enterprise. Seckendorf was recalled to defend the hereditary dominions; Wallis and Kevenhuller retired before the Turks; and Doxat the governor of Nissa surrendered the town to the infidels, for which he was soon after beheaded. The enemies of Seckendorf attributed the failure of the campaign to the general. He was recalled, arrested at his home and impeached; and though he defended himself with the greatest vigour, and might have cleared

himself from the charges by producing the commands of the emperor, he was conveyed to the castle of Glatz, and remained a close prisoner during the emperor's lifetime.

The campaign of 1738 was opened by the Turks in the beginning of March, while the Austrians were disputing, and divided by a factious spirit. The bashaw of Widdin took the field with an army of 20,000 men, and opened his batteries against Orsova from the north and south banks of the Danube. Charles appointed the duke of Lorraine commander of the forces, and Königsegg under him; though he was to follow implicitly the orders which were to be sent him from the council at Vienna. Their chief efforts were to be directed to the relief of Orsova, and the capture of Widdin. The imperialists were sanguine in their expectations. They drove the Turks from their camp at Meadia, and had the satisfaction of seeing them recross the Danube. Their victory, however, was too speedily rejoiced at, and the success was of too transient a nature. The Grand Vizier returned with great secrecy, attacked the troops when in the midst of a defile, and resumed the siege operations against Orsova. The duke retired to Vienna, where he incurred the displeasure of the emperor, the clamours of the council, and the indignation of the populace; and with his consort he retired to Tuscany till the storm had blown over. The imperial arms sustained still further disgrace in Hungary. Königsegg retreated beyond the Danube, and when he heard of the capture of Orsova, took refuge in the lines of Belgrade; where being hard pressed by the Turks, he retired into the fortified city. The plague decimated the army, and consternation reigned in Vienna. Königsegg was speedily recalled and disgraced, and Kevenhuller appointed to the command. The season, however, was too far advanced for further operations this year. The Turks retired from Belgrade, and the imperial army went into their winter quarters.

Marshal Wallis was sent out to retrieve the fortunes of the last campaign. In May 1739, he collected the shattered forces at Peterwaradin, and being joined by his auxiliaries, set out to undertake the siege of Orsova. He came up with the Turks at Crotzka, where they were posted in the vineyards and woods, and at once attacked them. His troops, however, were thrown into confusion after gaining a partial advantage, and he retired under cover of the darkness of night to Vinza, where he had previously encamped, and so strongly intrenched himself that the Turks were unable to drive him from his position. The Grand Vizier led his troops to Belgrade, which was speedily besieged. Wallis either feared or was unable to make any diversion in the field, and the governor of the fortress falsely stated that the walls were so shattered that an assault was hourly expected. Wallis sent an officer to propose terms of peace by the cession of Belgrade; he alarmed the Viennese by his gloomy dispatches, and requested that Schmettau might supersede Suckof. No word can depict the consternation which reigned in the court, the council, and the city. Murmurs and reproaches rose on all sides; fear seized every heart.

The emperor commissioned count Neuperg to offer Belgrade in case of necessity, and Sehmettau to rouse the army, and to prevent the surrender. The genius of the latter general inspired the garrison; they drove back the Turks from the front trenches, and would have saved the fortress but for the rashness and incapacity of Neuperg. The count hastened into the Turkish camp to negotiate with the Vizier; but he was arrested as a spy, and imprisoned till the French ambassador Villeneuve, who was to mediate, arrived. A shameful negotiation was hastily entered into, and the preliminaries drawn out. Belgrade, Szabateh, and Servia were to be delivered to the Porte, and Orsova to be retained; and the Turks were to have possession of one of the gates of Belgrade, till the treaty was concluded. Sehmettau was indignant, and urged Neuperg to object to the occupation of Belgrade, but without effect. Eight hundred Janissaries took possession, and the main armies retired, the Turks towards Nissa, and the imperialists to Peterwaradin.

The intelligence of this truce threw Vienna into a violent fury. The troops raged against their generals; the populace rose, and assaulted the ministers' houses; the Jesuits raised a pitiful cry which resounded in all parts; the ministers blamed Wallis and Neuperg, who stoutly vindicated themselves; and the emperor was so severely agitated that great fears were entertained for his safety. The peace of Belgrade was agreed to by the empress of Russia, though she had gained a splendid victory over the Turks at Chotin; and she was permitted to retain Azof, but had to relinquish her recent conquests. This peace was evidently a masterpiece of French intrigue to reduce the power of Austria; and Villeneuve took advantage of the wretched condition of the finances and the army of the emperor to serve his country, and boasted that by making the peace of Belgrade he had rendered a more effectual service to France than if he had gained a complete victory. The active agents of it were rewarded in true Austrian manner; Wallis and Neuperg were arrested and confined during the life of Charles VI.; the one at Zigieth, and the other at the castle of Halitz.

The active intrigues of Cardinal Fleury were spread over Europe. No court was free from his spies; no counsels were untinged with his advice; and the apprehensions of England, Holland, and the empire were justly aroused by his warlike preparations. Charles wished to secure an alliance with George II., but French influence thwarted his proposals, and negatived his efforts. He felt very keenly the powerful hold of the French; and the agitation of mind through which he had lately passed impaired a constitution which had been already shaken by violent attacks of the gout. In October 1740 he was seized with an attack, and refused to be deprived of his accustomed exercise of hunting. Cold, damp, and excessive fatigue increased his disorder, and hastened his return to Vienna. When his physician communicated to him the intelligence that a few days alone remained to him, he refused to credit it; but at length he yielded to his decided opinion. He prepared for his dissolution; summoned his ministers, and gave them final instructions; bid an

affectionate farewell to his family, and pressed with excessive tenderness his beloved consort to his heart; held a long interview with the Duke of Lorraine; and on the 20th of October 1740, the last male of the illustrious house of Hapsburg, which for more than four hundred years had enjoyed an uninterrupted succession in Austria, passed away.

Charles VI. does not stand out in bold prominence among the sovereigns of Austria for any commanding talents. He had been educated with great care under Prince Lichtenstein, and was in his youth grave and phlegmatic, and very rarely smiled. He possessed penetration and clearness of perception, was well acquainted with the theory of politics, and aimed at the prosperity and honour of his kingdom. He, however, was extremely jealous, unbending in his opposition, and fond of flattery. In a licentious age, he was noted for the correctness of his morals, and his attachment to his religion. He fostered the fine arts, welcomed artists and literary men to his court, and highly distinguished Metastasio as the imperial laureate. He greatly improved his dominions by constructing roads, promoting trade and commerce, regulating the courts of justice, and softening the rigorous laws. It was his good fortune to be surrounded with able ministers. His generals had been formed under the skilful tuition of Eugene. Count Staremberg guided the finances with a masterly hand. Count Sinzendorf was eminently qualified for superintending foreign affairs by his great talents as a negotiator, and his experience in foreign relations. Bartenstein, however, rose to the greatest importance, and exerted the most potent influence over the emperor. He had risen from an inferior office by his ability for drawing out memorials, and succeeded in gaining the attention of Charles, and exerting such control that though in a subordinate office, the "scribe," as he was contemptuously termed, really swayed the councils of the emperor.

The Austrian dominions had become the most extensive sovereignty in Europe. Charles in addition to the imperial dignity, was the acknowledged sovereign of Hungary, Transylvania, Bohemia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, Milan, and the Netherlands. It is true that some of his territories rather diminished than increased his power; and the whole population did not amount to more than twenty-five millions. The intrigues of France and the jealousy of the German princes obliged him to keep up a numerous army, far more numerous than his finances could afford. His peace establishment was nominally fixed at 100,000 men, and his war at 160,000; but it rarely happened that more than half that number could be collected and supplied, as his revenues scarcely exceeded 30,000,000 florins, and the exchequer was burdened with the expenses of so many and such extensive wars. He derived very little real advantage from his imperial dignity above what the other princes of the confederation enjoyed; though it cannot be denied the title imparted some dignity and influence to the Austrian sovereign. The neglect of Charles to nominate a successor to the imperial throne during his lifetime involved Europe in a severe and bloody war for the succession to the Austrian dominions.



## CHAPTER XV.

CHARLES VII. (OF BAVARIA.) A.D. 1741-1745.

THE great concern which the late emperor had manifested to obtain the guarantee of the European powers to the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured the succession of the Austrian dignities to Maria Theresa his eldest daughter, was rendered fruitless by the appearance of several claimants immediately after the death of Charles. Maria Theresa was in her twenty-fourth year, and possessed a commanding figure, rich mellow voice, fascinating manners, exalted intellect, and talents which eminently fitted her to resist the encroachments of others, and to guard the sacred bequests of her father. Never did the house of Austria demand from its sovereign greater vigilance and wisdom than at this eventful period. The treasury was nearly exhausted; the army scarcely numbered 30,000 effective men; the capital was discontented by the pressure of famine; the government was torn into factions by party spirit and foreign intrigues; and the flames of revolution were expected to burst out in Hungary and Bohemia in an attempt to regain their lost privileges.

The first claimant to the Austrian dominions was Charles Albert, the Elector of Bavaria; who founded his claims on the will of Ferdinand I. which bequeathed the Austrian dominions to his daughters (one of whom Albert duke of Bavaria had married), and their descendants. He had been corrupted by the pernicious influence of his father, who was entirely under French control, and surrounded with the vices of Paris. After his father's death, he resigned himself to luxury, to his mistresses, and to his dogs, of which he kept an incredible number. While he was boldly asserting his claim, and securing the aid of France, Maria Theresa was waiting for the acknowledgment of the European sovereigns, who with the exception of Louis professed their readiness to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction. The court of Vienna was meanwhile astonished by the appearance of a new claimant for at least a portion of the Hapsburg possessions.

Frederick William of Prussia had employed his life in forming a powerful and disciplined army, and securing the prosperity of the kingdom. At his death in 1740, he left to his son Frederick II. thirty million dollars in the exchequer, and an army of 72,000 men. The young king had passed through a severe course of discipline. His stern father had treated him with great harshness. His tutor inspired him with a passion for French literature; he eagerly devoured the writings of Voltaire, with whom he regularly corresponded, and who made several attempts to initiate him in prose and poetic composition. His father no sooner discovered his literary pursuits, than

he punished him unmercifully with his cane, drilled him rigorously as a soldier, and undertook his education. Frederick was exasperated by the conduct of his father, and attempted to escape; but he was arrested and brought back to the king, who treated him as a deserter, and in an altercation would have killed him, but for the interference of general Mosel. He was, however, with his page condemned to death, and confined at Custrin to await his execution. He was forced to witness the beheading of his page, and was alone saved from a similar fate by the intercession of the surrounding sovereigns and the queen. He was daily occupied as clerk with the business of the chancery offices, and at length appeased his father by his attention and application to business. After his marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, at the stern request of his father, he resided at the castle of Rheimsberg; where he surrounded himself with literary men, and divided his attention between political duties, and literary pursuits.

Frederick resolved to take advantage of the state of Austria to secure the duchy of Silesia; and while he amused the court of Vienna with his assurance of friendship, and promises of assistance, he prepared to invade the province, and to assert some antiquated claim to it, which he had raked up from dusty records. When all his arrangements were completed, he dispatched Count Gotta to Vienna to demand the surrender of Silesia; and threatened to take possession of it in the event of a refusal. The Duke of Lorraine, on behalf of the Queen of Hungary, returned a dignified and decided refusal. Frederick still attempted to negotiate with the court; and meanwhile poured his army into Silesia, was joyfully received by the Protestant natives, compelled general Brown to retreat into Moravia, and in less than a month reduced the whole province except Glogau, Breig and Neiss. The queen released general Neuperg from prison, and sent him with a considerable force into Silesia. The state of the roads prevented him passing the mountains of Moravia till the end of March 1741; during which time Frederick had revisited his dominions, captured Glogau, and besieged Neiss. Neuperg hastened into Silesia in the hope of cutting off the Prussian detachments in detail before they could be collected. He took up his quarters at Molwitz near Breig, and was confident of success, on account of his superiority in cavalry, and the consternation which pervaded the enemy. The activity of Frederick deceived the general. He speedily summoned his forces; and favoured by a heavy fall of snow, took up his position near Molwitz. The battle commenced on the 10th of April; the charges of the Austrian cavalry dispersed the Prussians, and opened a way through the infantry; and victory seemed sure to honour Neuperg. The steadiness of the Prussian infantry, however, retrieved the day; the Austrian ranks were thrown into confusion; Neuperg was wounded, and unable to restrain the flight of his troops; and Frederick remained master of the field.

The news of the defeat of her troops created great alarm in Maria Theresa, and in the cabinet of Vienna. Her expectations of receiving assistance from the other powers, especially England,

had failed in their realisation; and Philip V. of Spain, the King of Sardinia, and the Elector of Saxony put in their claims to the Austrian dominions. The King of Prussia renewed his demands to the queen through England; and George II. commanded his ambassador to exert his influence to induce her to cede the possessions to him, and prevent an European war. A long and tedious negotiation ensued between the King of Prussia, the English plenipotentiary, and the court of Vienna, which was rendered fruitless by the unbending spirit of Frederick and of Maria Theresa; and at last the king exclaimed "I am sick of ultimatums. I will hear no more of them; my part is taken. I again repeat my demand of all Lower Silesia; this is my final answer, and I will give no other." All hope of a reconciliation was now at an end.

Frederick entered into a treaty with France and the Elector of Bavaria; a plan for the spoliation of the Austrian dominions was drawn up; and active preparations were made for a concerted attack. The Elector of Bavaria set out with a French army under Belleisle, captured Lintz, summoned Vienna to surrender, and suddenly turned into Bohemia to invest Prague. The queen was placed in a most perilous situation; deserted by her allies, without money, and threatened by a numerous combination. England alone had voted to her £300,000 as a subsidy. In her distress she turned to her Hungarian subjects. The members of the diet were summoned; and she entered the hall clad with deep mourning in the Hungarian costume, with the ancient crown of St. Stephen on her head, the scimitar at her side, and her infant son in her arms. She ascended the tribune; and in a short but thrilling speech made known her distress, and threw herself on their fidelity. The appearance of the queen created a powerful impression on the hearts of the assembly. They rose, half drew their scimitars, then thrust them back with violence, and exclaimed "we will die for our queen, Maria Theresa." They hastened to the diet, and voted large supplies of money and men. The nation caught the enthusiasm; and in a short period the tribes poured in to fight for their sovereign. Vienna was strongly defended, troops were collected from all quarters, and every exertion made to roll back the tide of invasion.

Meanwhile the allies were divided among themselves by petty jealousies; and Frederick now dreaded the accession of the elector to Bohemia, which would threaten Silesia; and also feared the overwhelming power of France, if Austria were crushed. He, therefore, commenced negotiations with the queen through England, and succeeded in gaining his demands. Maria Theresa directed the Hungarian forces first to succour Prague; but the Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the whole army, had the vexation of arriving the day after the capital had surrendered. The elector had made his triumphal entry into the city, been crowned King of Bohemia, and had departed to Frankfort, where he was crowned emperor on the 12th of Feb. 1742, by the title of Charles VII. The Duke of Lorraine turned his forces towards Bavaria; and while the elector was feasting at Frankfort, the Croats and Pandurs

ravaged his dominions, and committed great excesses on the peasants. Kevenhuller blockaded Lintz, compelled 10,000 French under Segur to surrender, advanced into Bavaria, and captured Munich. Frederick, with his accustomed versatility, now feared the rising power of Austria, broke off his negotiations, and entered Moravia to repel the Austrians from Bohemia. His movements, however, were skilfully counteracted by the activity of the Austrian generals. Vienna was protected by 10,000 men from Bavaria; the Hungarian army threatened the safety of Frederick's magazines in Upper Silesia; and Prince Charles of Lorraine advanced towards him with the main army. Frederick was strongly posted at Chotusitz near Czaslau; and the Austrians ventured to attack him. The armies were about equal in numbers, and the battle was contested with great skill and bravery; but after heavy losses on both sides, the Austrians retired in good order, and the Prussians remained masters of the field. Both parties were anxious for peace; and the king concluded a treaty with the queen at Breslau, by which he obtained Upper and Lower Silesia, and the country of Glatz on condition of his neutrality.

The Austrian arms were now triumphant against the French. Marshals Broglie and Belleisle were driven from their posts, and shut up in Prague; while the relieving army was kept in check by Kevenhuller. The removal of Sir Robert Walpole from the British cabinet secured the active alliance of England; the Dutch voted the queen a large subsidy; the King of Sardinia was gained by the promise of some territories in the Milanese, and checked the French and Spanish troops in Italy; and an English fleet secured the neutrality of the King of Naples, by threatening to bombard the capital if he interfered. A gleam of hope now brightened the dark prospects of Maria Theresa.

The French were greatly exasperated at the success of the Austrians. Cardinal Fleury made overtures to the queen for the cessation of hostilities in order to preserve his army which was shut up in Prague; but she disdainfully rejected his proposals, and pushed forward the siege with great vigour. A grand effort was made to relieve the French. The army of Maillebois, which was stationed in Westphalia, marched towards the Palatinate, united with Seckendorf and the Bavarians, and was still further increased by the army of Saxe; and at the head of 60,000 men he advanced to Egra. The French in Prague were suffering extremely from the want of provisions and from fever, and hailed the approach of their comrades. Prince Charles of Lorraine united with Kevenhuller to check the advance of Maillebois; and they compelled him to retrace his steps, to retire to the Palatinate, and ultimately to relinquish all hope of relieving Prague. The situation of the besieged became every day more distressing; and the intelligence of the surrender of the place was hourly expected at Vienna. Belleisle deceived the expectations of the Austrians. The severity of the weather, and the impassable state of the country, induced Lobeowitz, who conducted the siege, to relax his efforts; and Belleisle embraced the opportunity to leave

the city with 11,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 30 pieces of cannon in the dead of the night, December 16. He experienced little opposition from the enemy ; but the sufferings of the soldiers were terrible. They slept on the snow and ice, with scarcely any covering ; they had no other provision than frozen bread ; and at every halting place, left heaps of men and officers stiffened with the frost. The remaining French troops refused to surrender without the honours of war ; and Chevert the commander threatened to fire the city if these terms were not immediately granted. To save Prague, the queen yielded ; and they marched out, and joined their brethren at Egra.

All Bohemia, except Egra, was now in the hands of Maria Theresa ; and she was crowned with great splendour at Prague May 12, 1743. She speedily directed her arms to effect the destruction of the French. Prince Charles routed a detachment on the Iser, scattered with great loss the Bavarian force at Erblach, and compelled Broglie to retreat to the Rhine. The King of England sent a force under Lord Stair to co-operate with the Austrians. On their march along the Main they were opposed, when near Dettingen, by a powerful French army under Marshal Noailles ; who by his skilful dispositions, had cut off their retreat, lined the opposite banks with cannon, and threatened the allied army with either an unconditional surrender, or certain destruction. The imprudence of the Duke of Grammont, the marshal's nephew, who crossed the stream to give battle to the enemy, brought on an engagement. The French were driven back with the loss of 5,000 men ; and the allied army was enabled to march to Hanau, where its heterogeneous character was soon manifested by disunion and faction. The French were driven out of Egra on the 7th of September ; and the emperor, shut up as a fugitive at Frankfort, deserted by France, and his dominions ravaged by Austria, made overtures to the queen through the Prince of Hesse, and promised to renounce his claim to the Austrian inheritance, and break off his connection with France, if he were restored to his dominions, and his imperial title acknowledged. In Italy the French and Spanish were unsuccessful in their operations ; and the King of Sardinia received the possessions which the queen had promised him for his assistance.

The campaign of 1744 opened with great preparations on both sides. England and France declared hostilities ; and the latter attempted an invasion of Britain, which was defeated by a violent storm. Louis headed 100,000 men in Flanders, and was very successful in capturing Courtray, Menin, Ypres, and other places. The Austrians, however, under Prince Charles burst into Alsace, and threatened the subjugation of that province. A large army composed of the troops under Marshal de Coigny, the Bavarians under Seckendorf, and 30,000 men under Noailles from the Netherlands, was collected to drive the prince from the country ; but when he was preparing to detach and defeat them, he was suddenly recalled to drive out the Prussians from Bohemia. The success which had attended the arms of Maria Theresa aroused the jealousy of many princes, and especially of Frederick king of Prussia. He, therefore,

secretly signed a convention at Frankfort-on-the-Main between the emperor, France, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden; and suddenly invaded Bohemia. The Austrians were unprepared to resist him; and he was enabled to seize Prague, Tabor, Budweis and most of Bohemia, and to reinstate the emperor in the possession of his capital, and the greater part of the electorate.

The queen acted with becoming spirit and resolution. She recalled prince Charles from Alsace, and repaired to the Hungarian diet at Presburg; where she roused the spirit of the people, and in a short time raised two armies, one to act immediately with the prince, and the other to be held in reserve. The devastated condition of Bohemia prevented Frederick gaining provisions for his army, and his convoys were cut off by hordes of irregulars. The Austrians were joined by the Saxons; and the king was driven from post to post, and obliged to evacuate Bohemia with a loss of 20,000 men, and all his baggage and artillery. The arms of the queen in Italy were not successful; though no permanent results were secured on either side. Prince Lobcowitz drove the Spanish towards Naples; and when the King of Naples advanced to their assistance, the prince nearly surprised him in his tent, and shortly after went into his winter quarters. The King of Sardinia was hard pressed by the French, and Piedmont was ravaged by the enemy.

All parties were anxiously expecting the next phase of affairs, when an event occurred which excited the hope of a speedy termination of hostilities. The emperor possessed a delicate constitution, which was weakened by the troubles which had distinguished his reign. He was severely attacked with the gout, which terminated fatally at Munich, Jan. 20, 1745. Charles VII. was a prince of a liberal and amiable disposition. His ambition had been aroused by a more masterly spirit than himself; and his talents were insufficient to uphold the dignity he had grasped. He bitterly regretted the steps he had taken, reproached himself that he had involved Germany in a desolating war, and had degraded himself to a state of dependency on French favour; and with his dying voice he entreated his son to reject the imperial dignity, and to secure the friendship of the house of Austria.

## CHAPTER XVI.

FRANCIS I. (OF LORRAINE.) A.D. 1745-1765.

THE son of the late emperor was easily persuaded to conclude a treaty with the queen of Hungary on the terms which his father had once offered. France naturally wished to sow divisions among the princes, and disunite the allies; and attempted to prejudice the court of St. Petersburg against Maria Theresa. The intrigues

of the king, however, were unavailing; and he again had recourse to arms. The campaign was opened by vigorous efforts in Flanders. Marshal Saxe invested Tournay with an army of 80,000 men, where he was joined by the king and the dauphin. The allies were commanded by the Duke of Cumberland; who, with a force of scarcely 50,000 men hastened to the relief of the town. The French took up an advantageous position near Fontenoy, which was strongly defended by nature and by numerous intrenchments. The duke resolved to attack them, and led on his men in person. The English and Hanoverians displayed the greatest intrepidity and firmness; but the Dutch wavered, fled, and exposed them to a tremendous fire on all sides. Cumberland was seen in the thickest of the battle, encouraging his troops. Konigsegg rallied his men, whose impetuous attacks drove the French from their posts, and threw them into confusion. A small battery, however, was brought to play on the British troops; and after a great portion had been cut down, the duke gave orders to retire; which they effected in good order. The French were masters of the field; the allies lost 10,000 men; and Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Tournay, and other towns submitted to the victors.

In Italy the Austrian arms also suffered great reverses. The queen failed to reinforce her troops; and the King of Sardinia was unable to resist the attacks of the French and Spanish, now assisted by the Genoese. The confederates drove the king to the walls of Turin, overran the Milanese, received the oath of subjection from the capital; and in a few months Parma, Placentia, Tortona, Pavia, Cazale and Aste were in the hands of Don Philip, and the fortresses of Alessandria and Milan blockaded. The efforts of the queen against the King of Prussia were also unsuccessful. Since his retreat from Prague, Frederick employed every artifice to represent himself as crushed and desponding, in the hope of surprising the Austrians. He confined his first efforts to skirmishes, and petty engagements, and succeeded in drawing Prince Charles across the mountains at Landshut, where he had placed his troops in such a position that few could be observed. The prince was deluded by the stratagem, and was surprised by an attack on his two wings at the same moment. They had no sooner given way, than the Prussian infantry opened, and a body of horse dashed into the centre of the enemy, and completed the disorder. For seven hours the conflict continued; Charles retreated into Bohemia, followed by the king; and the two armies encamped near the Elbe, and were alone separated by that stream.

Frederick was extremely anxious for peace. His treasury was exhausted, his army disorganised, and his country distressed; and he made overtures to the King of England, who sent his ambassador to Vienna to request the queen to conclude a treaty with Prussia. The envoy obtained an audience with the illustrious queen; he showed the importance of detaching either France or Prussia, and the impossibility of gaining the former, and hinted at the withdrawal of the annual subsidy she had received from England in case of a refusal. Maria Theresa returned an answer which avoided a direct

refusal; and George II. entered into a secret treaty with Prussia. The tidings of this treaty awakened the jealousy of the court of Vienna. Prince Charles, having received reinforcements, harassed the Prussian army by cutting off the supplies, and forced the king to retire from his position into Silesia; and again the two armies were opposed. Frederick, surprised by Charles, offered battle; and though his forces scarcely exceeded half those of the enemy, he defeated his foe in a bloody encounter near the village of Sohr, and gained a fresh trophy with hardly any exertion. The king soon after retired to prevent the invasion of the troops of Saxony, with whom the queen had formed the bold project of surprising Berlin; but Frederick anticipated her designs, drove back the Saxons, and defeated Prince Charles. The Prince of Anhalt opened the way to Dresden, into which the king entered in triumph, and conquered the whole electorate. Maria Theresa now accepted the mediation of England, and on the 25th of December 1745, signed the peace of Dresden. Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz; and Frederick evacuated Saxony, and recognised the imperial dignity of the Duke of Lorraine.

The imperial diet had been assembled at Frankfort to select an emperor; and the only candidate was Francis consort of Maria Theresa, who was duly elected by the suffrages of the college on the 13th of September, and was crowned with great splendour on the 4th of the following month with the title of Francis I. The queen was gratified by the union of the imperial dignity with the house of Hapsburg, and testified her joy by her exclamation, "Long live the emperor Francis I.," and by her splendid entertainments and processions. She reviewed her army at Heidelberg, and presented each soldier with a piece of money in commemoration of the event.

The English had frequently complained of the treatment they had received, by their allies seldom bringing more than half the stipulated complement into the field. While the Duke of Cumberland was occupied in suppressing the rebellion in Scotland, the French took advantage of the state of affairs in the Netherlands to push forward their successes by capturing Brussels, and the greater portion of the Austrian Netherlands. Prince Charles was unable to check the advance of Saxe. Namur fell into his hands; and the allied troops were defeated at the battle of Raucoux, which terminated the campaign. In Italy the Austrian arms were crowned with far more glory; they retook the greater portion of the conquered places, and drove the French into Provence. Genoa was left to her fate, and was forced to surrender unconditionally. The city was given up, with the garrison and all the munitions of war; and Botta became governor in the name of the queen. His unheard-of cruelty, oppression, and rapacity aroused the spirit of the inhabitants; and while the English and Austrians were besieging Antibes, the people rose, armed themselves from the military stores, drove out the Austrians with the loss of 8000 men, and assumed their independence. The besiegers were induced to retire from Antibes to retake Genoa.

The efforts made to prevent another campaign were frustrated by



the jealousy of the belligerents, and the unbending resolution of Maria Theresa; who was constantly expecting some decisive victory, which would enable her to gain an increase of territory, instead of losing any portion of her present inheritance. The campaign of 1747 was unfavourable to the allies. The Duke of Cumberland was disappointed in his supplies of men, provisions, and material. To force the neutrality of Holland, the French invaded the Dutch territory; and the States revived the office of stadtholder, which had been abolished since the death of William III., and called the Prince of Orange to the dignity. His presence, however, did not remedy the defective arrangements of the allies. Marshal Saxe attacked them near the village of Val, where they were posted. The British and Hanoverians sustained the whole force of the action, and behaved in a masterly manner under the galling fire of their opponents; but they had to retire under cover of the British infantry, after inflicting a severe loss on the French. Count Lowendahl was sent with 30,000 men to besiege Bergen-op-Zoom; which he was enabled to capture through the negligence of the sentinels, and the infirmity of the governor. Admiral Hawke defeated the French navy off Cape Finisterre, and captured six ships of the line. In Italy the siege of Genoa was carried on with scarcely any energy by the Austrians and Sardinians; but the approach of Belleisle, who had made himself master of Nice and Villafranca, caused them to raise the siege and to fall back for the defence of their own territories.

The allies were sincerely desirous of peace, and resolved to place Maria Theresa in such a position that she must either agree to the terms they were anxious to secure, or continue the war without their assistance. While the spirited queen was making the most active preparations for a fresh campaign, and was indulging visions of brilliant success, the conferences which had been opened at Breda, and had been transferred to Aix la Chapelle, commenced the negotiations by the plenipotentiaries there assembled of Austria, England, France, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, Genoa, and Modena. The empress-queen refused to surrender any of her possessions; and in a long and stormy interview with the English ambassador, she stated her determination rather to lose her head than any part of her inheritance. At length, after many disputes, the treaty of Aix la Chapelle received the signature of the different powers at the close of 1748. The election of Francis to the imperial dignity was confirmed, and the Pragmatic Sanction guaranteed. Maria Theresa recovered the Netherlands, gave up Silesia and Glatz to Prussia, yielded Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla to Don Philip, and ratified the concession made to the king of Sardinia. England and France for all their expenditure of blood and treasure gained nothing.

Maria Theresa employed the interval between the peace of Aix la Chapelle and the commencement of the Seven Years' War in promoting the internal prosperity of the nation. She clearly discerned that the late treaty would be but a temporary suspension of hostilities, and, therefore, prepared to meet the anticipated

outbreak of war. She investigated and reduced to order her finances; and increased the revenue six million florins a year, though she had lost Naples, and Silesia a productive province. She raised the number of her standing army to 108,000 men; formed camps in the provinces, which she herself visited, and animated with her bounty; established a military academy at Vienna; and cultivated most assiduously the science of war. She also revised her ministerial council, where death had entered and removed Sinzendorf, Staremburg, Harrach, and Kinsky; checked the insolence and jealousy of Bartenstein, by promoting him to the vice-chancellorship of Bohemia; and raised Count Kaunitz to the dignity of prime minister, who for a period of forty years directed the councils of Austria with his splendid talents, and insinuating address.

The count was extremely anxious to contract an alliance with France, and for some years had intrigued at the court of Versailles to produce a friendly feeling towards Austria. His efforts were promoted by the misunderstanding which had sprung up between England and France respecting the American colonies, which was afterwards to be settled by the sword; and also by the disgust which the King of Prussia had manifested at the haughty and overbearing conduct of France. He induced the empress to write a letter to the Marchioness of Pompadour, the mistress of Louis and the real prime minister of France, and gained her powerful influence towards his project. The relation between England and Austria became less amicable, and was weakened by the unjust requirements of each court. George required the empress to drain her hereditary dominions to supply a large force for the defence of the Netherlands and Hanover against the French; and Maria Theresa expected England entirely to defend the Netherlands, and to assist in the dismemberment of the Prussian dominions. A long series of tedious negotiations, for which Austria has always shown such partiality, ensued; until George declared that he had had enough of ultimatums, declined to carry on a paper war with Austria, and entered into a treaty with the King of Prussia to prevent foreign troops entering Germany during the American war.

Meanwhile Kaunitz had prepared a treaty with France, which gained the approval of the marchioness, and through her of Louis. He had great difficulty in securing the consent of the Austrian ministers, and especially of the emperor. Francis declared that an alliance with France should never take place; but he was at length won over by the empress; and Kaunitz was empowered to conclude the negotiation. Maria Theresa received the news of the treaty between England and Prussia with some satisfaction, and made that the ground of her contracting an alliance with France, which was fully signed May 1, 1756. The queen promised to defend the French territories if attacked, except during the American war; and Louis agreed to aid the house of Austria in the event of an invasion. She secured the assistance of the King of Poland, who was also Elector of Saxony, and the Empress of Russia; and assembled two powerful

armies near Konigsgratz and Prague, while the Russian forces were prepared to advance on Livonia.

Frederick demanded a declaration of her intentions by these hostile preparations, but the queen returned an evasive answer; and the king assembled a large force, burst into Saxony, captured Dresden, and blockaded the Saxon troops at Pima. General Brown was ordered to advance from Prague to the relief of the Saxons, who, after gallantly resisting the attacks of the foe, were forced to submit from want of provisions. Augustus fled to Warsaw; and Frederick treated Saxony as a conquered province, and appropriated its revenues. The conduct of Prussia stimulated the allies of Austria. His attempt to vindicate his deeds by the publication of papers found in the Saxon archives, failed to conciliate the German princes; who were actively supplied with French gold, and were persuaded that England and Prussia designed to crush their religion, and impose the Protestant faith upon them. France entered warmly into the war; and at the beginning of 1757 the king agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 12,000,000 florins to the empress, to maintain at her disposal 10,000 troops of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, to send into the field an army of 105,000 men, and never to cease from hostilities until the queen obtained possession of Silesia, Glatz and Crossen. Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the United Provinces remained neutral; but Sweden declared for Austria.

The memorable campaign of 1757 opened with great preparations. France raised two armies on the Rhine; one under Marshal d'Etrées to act against the Duke of Cumberland, and the other under the Prince de Soubise to penetrate into Saxony. Etrées defeated the Hanoverians and Hessians, drove the duke to Stade, and became master of the electorate; and the prince penetrated to Erfurt, and joined the imperial army under the Prince of Saxe Hilburghausen. The Swedes burst into Prussian Pomerania; and the Russians, to the amount of 100,000 men, invaded Prussia and committed great devastation. Frederick poured his army into Bohemia in four divisions; the Prince of Bevern defeated the Austrians at Reichenberg, while the king, uniting with the forces of Schwerin and Prince Maurice, caused General Brown to retreat from Budin towards Prague. Prince Charles of Lorraine took up a strong position near Prague, where he was joined by the retreating Austrians; and Frederick resolved to attack him before he was succoured by a large force under Count Daun, the son of the celebrated general who had distinguished himself in the Italian wars. For a long time the Austrians defended their posts with great bravery. The troops of Schwerin wavered and retreated, till their heroic general, seizing a standard, exclaimed "Let the brave follow me," and rushed into the midst of the Austrian lines, where he was pierced with several balls. The spirit of the Prussians were aroused. Marshal Brown was obliged to leave his division because of his wounds, and the troops gave way. Charles was nearly surrounded; and at length retreated in good order to Prague. The Prussians purchased their victory with the loss of 18,000 of their best troops, and the bravest of their officers.

The city was instantly besieged; and 100,000 persons were shut up within its narrow limits without the means of subsistence. They gallantly defended the place, and were animated with the hope of assistance from Daun, who had not joined the main army, and was now gathering reinforcements a few miles from Prague. He delayed his movements till he had collected an army of 60,000 men, drove back the Prince of Bevern sent by Frederick to oppose him, and gave battle near Kolin to the king who had joined the prince to obstruct the march of Daun. The battle was decisive. The Prussians fought with their accustomed fire; but the Saxon cavalry dashed into their lines, and forced an opening, which was skilfully made use of by Daun. Frederick led his cavalry to the charge seven times, but seeing all was lost, retired with thirty hussars; and the Prussian army took to flight. The siege of Prague was raised; and the Prussians retreated towards Saxony and Lusatia.

The situation of Frederick was gloomy enough to have driven any less daring mind to despair. Silesia was nearly torn from him by the success of Prince Charles; the French and German confederates burst into Saxony, and drove Marshal Keith into Leipzig; and General Haddick penetrated into the mark of Brandenburg, and laid Berlin under contribution. The splendid genius of the king rescued himself from his perilous situation. He collected his forces, hastened into Saxony, delivered Keith, and then advanced to meet Soubise, who had been greatly reinforced. He took up a strong position at Rosbach, where his small numbers were defended by two villages, and a steep declivity. The enemy mistook his manœuvres for a retreat, and carelessly rushed on to intercept him; when to their great astonishment a furious cannonade was opened, the cavalry dashed into their columns, and the Prussian infantry advanced with rapid and steady step. In less than an hour the enemy fled, leaving 4,000 wounded and killed, 7,000 prisoners, 63 cannons, and 22 standards in the hands of the king.

The success of the Austrians in Silesia called Frederick to that part of his dominions. Prince Charles had driven Bevern to Breslau, and after the capture of Schweidnitz by Nadasti, had forced him to abandon Breslau, which fell into the hands of the Austrians. Frederick hastily collected the remains of Bevern's army, and advanced to Breslau to risk another engagement. Charles, though entreated by Daun not to act on the offensive, despised the small force which the king possessed, issued from the town, and took up a position near Lissa. Frederick displayed the qualities of a consummate general. He made his arrangements to attack the right of the Austrians, to repel which they had drawn up their reserves and strengthened that quarter; when suddenly his troops turned towards the left. The Austrians were deceived, and though they contested each step with great resolution, they were driven from their posts, surrounded by the Prussians, and either cut down or made prisoners. While the Prussians lost scarcely 5000 men, the Austrians had 7000 killed and wounded, and 20,000 made prisoners. Breslau capitulated, and Schweidnitz was blockaded by

Frederick. The allies of the queen were also unsuccessful; the Russians were forced by want of provisions to retire from Prussia; the Swedes were driven to the walls of Stralsund; and the French were kept in check by the Hanoverians. The English expedition against Rochefort was a total failure.

The greatest exertions were necessary to provide for the next campaign. Maria Theresa had lost more than 80,000 men, who had to be replaced by raw recruits; and her revenues were insufficient to supply fresh baggage, arms, and military stores. Prussia had lost her fine disciplined army; but she was assisted by a yearly subsidy of £650,000 from England; and the revenues of the king rapidly remedied the calamities of war. Frederick captured Sehwednitz after a long blockade, and marched into Moravia to invest Olmütz. Prince Charles resigned the chief command to Daun, who judiciously trained his army to the severities of war, before he encountered the Prussians. He harassed the king by his rapid movements, and sent general Laudon to intercept a large convoy of materials for the siege. The king, after losing the greater part of his convoy, raised the siege, and retired to Landshut. He marched against the Russians who were besieging Custring, compelled them to raise the siege, and defeated them at the battle of Zorndorf.

Daun turned towards Saxony in the hope of reconquering that country, where Prince Henry, Frederick's brother, possessed only 20,000 men, and had been forced by the imperial army to retire towards Dresden. His movements, however, were frustrated by the sagacity and activity of Frederick. He left a corps under the margrave Charles to cover Silesia, and a body under count Dohna to watch the Russians; and hastened to relieve his brother. He took up a strong position at Hochkirchen, in sight of the Austrians, and hoped to induce them to risk an engagement. The Austrians deceived him as to their intentions. He observed them busily occupied in forming redoubts, fascines, and trenches, as if they intended to remain on the defensive; and resigned himself and his army in security. Daun had projected a surprise; and on the night of the 13th of October, leaving his fires blazing, and his labourers at work, he formed his army into three divisions, and silently approached the Prussian camp. The divisions under Daun and Laudon burst upon the camp, turned the artillery against them, and dashing amid the tents, put to slaughter the slumbering inmates. The king started with alarm; his hussars rushed out half-dressed, and instantly formed; and Prince Maurice and Marshal Keith attempted to gain the batteries, but failed. Keith was pierced with a musket-ball; the prince was wounded; and the king at length descended into the plain, and carried off part of his baggage. The victory filled Vienna with rejoicing, and brought heaps of honours and rewards to the fortunate generals, though it did not lead to any further decisive advantage. Frederick forced general Hirsch to raise the siege of Neiss and to retire into Bohemia; and Daun, who had invested Dresden, was obliged to

relinquish it, and allow the king to enter the city. The Russians retreated to Poland, the Swedes to Stralsund, and the confederate army, which had been successfully opposed by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, into Franconia.

The belligerents commenced the campaign of 1759 with ardent hopes of success. France entered into a new treaty with Austria, renewed her offers of assistance, and agreed to maintain 100,000 men against the King of Prussia. The French under Contades and those under Broglio gained great success; Prince Ferdinand was repulsed at Bergen near Frankfort with considerable loss; and Cassel, Minden, and Munster submitted to them. The French, however, were defeated in the battle of Minden; in which the English greatly distinguished themselves, though Lord Sackville, who commanded, was blamed and dismissed for not securing a greater victory. The Russians defeated the Prussians under Wedel in Silesia, and marched on to Frankfort on the Oder, where they were joined by Laudon with 30,000 Austrians. Frederick collected his troops to oppose the united army; and by a series of bold marches, crossed the Oder with 40,000 men to storm the allied camp which contained 80,000, leaving his brother Henry to oppose Daun in Lusatia. The Russians and Austrians occupied a strong position near the village of Cunersdorf; the heights of which they had strongly fortified, and defended with large batteries. The king attacked the right division with his artillery, stormed the redoubts, and after a dreadful slaughter, succeeded in capturing 180 pieces of cannon June 12, 1759. The left, however, remained firm, and his general Seidlitz advised him to be satisfied with his advantage, which would force the enemy to retire during the night. Frederick could not restrain his martial ardour, and led his columns to the attack, followed by the cavalry. The Russians gave way, and abandoned the battery; and the Prussian infantry advanced to seize the heights, which would have decided the conflict, when Laudon rushed forward, pointed the cannon loaded with grape towards the advancing columns, and swept them away. Still the Prussians came on; and Laudon charged them with his cavalry, threw them into disorder, and created a panic among them. Frederick had exposed his person in the heat of the action; two horses were shot under him, his clothes were riddled with balls, and his life alone saved by his faithful hussars. At the commencement of the action he wrote a note to his queen stating that the Russians were defeated, and victory was certain; but at the conclusion he dispatched a few hasty lines saying, "Remove from Berlin with the royal family; let the archives be carried to Potsdam, and the capital make conditions with the enemy."

The misunderstandings which arose between Soltikof the Russian commander and Laudon, prevented them following up the defeat of Frederick, which was so complete that he was almost a fugitive. The king, however, soon recovered his spirits, and replaced his army. In a few days he was at the head of 28,000 men to defend his capital; and by the masterly disposition of his troops prevented the junction of Daun with the Russians, and disconcerted their plans.

The Russians attempted to penetrate into Silesia, but were checked by the rapid approach of the king; and after suffering great privations, they retired into Poland, and Laudon into Olmütz. Daun turned to Saxony, where the imperial army had invested Dresden, which capitulated after a blockade of twenty-seven days. General Wunsch was advancing to its relief; but being disappointed, he turned to Torgau, where he defeated the imperial army, and captured Wittenberg and Leipzig. Daun took up his station at Dresden; and the king cut off his convoys, created a diversion in Bohemia, and detached General Fink to occupy Maxen in the rear of the Austrians. Daun formed the bold enterprise of surprising the Prussians at Maxen, and executed it with such secrecy and success that he completely surrounded the general, and compelled the whole army to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The king, when apprised of the danger of his general, sent Hulsén to his rescue; but he arrived too late; and Daun retired to Plauen, where he could succour Dresden if attacked, and also communicate with Bohemia. The king took up a position at Wildsruh, waiting for an opportunity to seize Dresden; and the two armies passed a very severe winter watching each other, and endured great hardships. "They died in their cabins like flies, and this winter campaign cost the king more than two battles; nor did the Austrians experience a better fate, for contagious disorders broke out in their army, and in the space of only sixteen days they lost 4,000 men."

The French army in Westphalia opened the campaign of 1760 with 120,000 men. Marshal Broglie advanced into Hesse; but his general Mui was defeated by Ferdinand at Warburg with the loss of 5,000 men; and after a series of slight engagements favourable to Broglie, the French wintered in Hesse and the prince in Munster. The Austrians under Daun occupied the camp at Pirna to watch the movements of the King of Prussia; who was greatly distressed for troops, and whose funds were so exhausted that, notwithstanding the large English subsidy, he had recourse to the coinage of bad money to supply the deficiency.

Laudon quitted Olmütz in April, and burst into Silesia, captured Fouquet with 9000 men when guarding the passes of the Giant Mountains, secured Glatz, and invested Breslau. Frederick was confounded by the news of the capture of his general, and bitterly exclaimed, "Such disasters happen to me alone." He attempted to reach Silesia, but was prevented by the movements of Daun and Lacy; and he suddenly turned and defeated Lacy, drove away the imperial army from their winter camp at Plauen, and bombarded Dresden. Daun hastened after the king, reinforced Dresden, cut off the Prussian convoys, and forced Frederick to retire. The king retreated into Lusatia, followed by Daun in advance and Lacy in the rear. Laudon had been forced to raise the siege of Breslau by Prince Henry; and Daun took up a position behind the Katzbach, where he effected a junction with Laudon, and cut off the king from his magazines at Breslau and Schweidnitz and from Prince Henry. The Russians were also assembling

on the Oder, and preparing to unite with the Austrians. Frederick resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and took post at Lignitz. Daun attempted to repeat the surprise at Hochkirchen; but Frederick perceived his designs, and shifted his position to the heights of Pfaffendorf, which Laudon was to seize and occupy. On the 15th of August, Laudon advanced, and was received with a galling fire from the Prussian batteries, which threw his troops into confusion; and he was routed by the cavalry with the loss of 10,000 men. The wind carried the sound in a contrary direction and prevented Daun hearing the cannonade; and he was surprised to find the camp deserted; but when acquainted with the defeat of Laudon, he recalled his troops, and permitted the Prussians to retire to Parchwitz. Daun concerted with the Russians an advance on Berlin, which capitulated, but was saved from destruction by paying a heavy contribution. The king hastened to save his capital, and afterwards turned into Saxony. Daun took up his position near Torgau, which seemed almost impregnable, and concentrated his forces to shut up the king in a district where he would be far from his magazines and his supplies. Frederick attempted by various stratagems to draw him from his strong post; but being unsuccessful, he determined to risk an engagement, November 3rd. He divided his army into two bodies; one under Ziethen to attack the right and centre, while he led the other through woods to fall on the rear. Daun saw the disposition of the enemy, and ordered his artillery to be brought to the rear; and when the king came on, the troops were received with a tremendous fire. Three lines were successively swept away; Daun charged at the head of his troops, and drove the Prussians into the wood, where he received a severe wound; and the king, wounded also, was obliged to retire. Daun was conveyed to Torgau, rejoicing at his victory; but in the night Ziethen, with two brave regiments, seized the heights, turned the batteries against the Austrians, and threw the entire army into disorder. Torgau was abandoned, and all Saxony except Dresden, fell into the king's hands.

George II. of England died suddenly October 25th, and was succeeded by his nephew George III., who though of a peaceful disposition resolved to continue the war in America, where the English had gained splendid successes, and also on the continent. The court of Spain entered into a secret treaty with France and Austria; and towards the close of 1761, when she had secured her rich galleons, openly declared war on behalf of Austria.

Negotiations for peace had been simultaneously carried on with preparations for war; and while the terms were still being discussed, hostilities again commenced. The belligerents, however, were not actuated by the same buoyant hope which formerly animated them. Frederick gave way to despondency, and restrained the bold conceptions which had previously assisted him so wonderfully. Laudon imitated the reserve and caution of Daun; the Russian generals were swayed by the divided state of opinion at St. Petersburg, where the queen was rapidly sinking, and the heir-apparent Peter was an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, that they were unwilling to



disobey the queen, or to displease the future emperor. In Westphalia Prince Ferdinand baffled all the efforts of the French to effect a junction with the imperialists in Saxony, and confined them to Hesse. In Pomerania a Russian and Swedish fleet with a body of land forces under Romanzof defeated the Prussians under the Prince of Wirtemberg, and captured Colberg after a gallant resistance. In Saxony Daun kept Prince Henry in check, and confined his operations to the defence of Dresden. In Silesia Laudon was baffled by the king in his attempts to gain a frontier fortress; and though he effected a junction with the Russians, and endeavoured to dislodge the king from his strong position at Bunzelwitz, the disunion between them thwarted the plans of the general, and the two armies retired. The king, however, was soon obliged to quit his position from want of provisions, and Laudon embraced the opportunity of seizing Schweidnitz, which he effected with the loss of 600 men, most of whom were blown up by the explosion of a mine by a Prussian artilleryman. He was thus enabled to establish his winter quarters in Silesia.

Frederick retired to Breslau where he shut himself up to indulge his grief. His veterans had been destroyed, his army was dispirited, his exchequer empty, and the subsidy annually granted by England was stopped by the new ministry, who urged him to make speedy overtures to the court of Vienna. The king was in a desperate situation. His provinces had been desolated by the enemy; and he knew not where to find recruits, horses, accoutrements, and subsistence. He had to defend his front against the Austrians, and his rear against the Russians; who had established themselves in the heart of his dominions. One event alone apparently saved him from self-destruction. Elizabeth empress of Russia died January 5, 1762, and was succeeded by her nephew Peter, who had frequently declared he would prove a warm ally of Frederick. He commanded his troops to suspend hostilities, and desert the Austrians; he entered into a treaty of alliance with the king; and by his endeavours a treaty of neutrality was concluded between Prussia and Sweden.

Frederick was aroused by this single gleam, and commenced his preparations with his accustomed energy. In May he confronted Daun near Schweidnitz, and awaited the arrival of the Russians to co-operate with him. In July they united, and the king put his army in motion, and forced the general to shift his position. But suddenly the hopes of Prussia were blasted by the tidings that Peter III. had been beheaded by an insurrection caused by his harshness and innovation, and that his widow Catherine II. had ascended the throne, and commanded the Russians immediately to retire from Prussia. The king prevailed upon the Russian general to delay the announcement three days, and in the mean time he attacked the Austrians, and drove them from their posts; and while the Russians were marching homewards, he invested Schweidnitz, which surrendered after a gallant defence of sixty-four days, and terminated the Silesian campaign. The king hastened into Saxony, whither he was followed by Daun; but the Austrians were defeated by Prince

Henry at Freiberg, Egra was destroyed, and the country ravaged to the walls of Prague. General Kleist had been dispatched into Franconia; whose flying corps spread consternation everywhere, levied contributions from the free towns and villages, and forced Nuremberg, Bamberg and other cities to sign a deed of neutrality. Daun unable to prevent these ravages concluded an armistice for Saxony and Silesia.

The French were defeated at Stolpen by Ferdinand, and before the close of the year, possessed no other place in Hesse but Ziegenhayn, which was nearly invested when hostilities ceased. The declaration of war by Spain did not much assist Austria. England and Portugal defeated her armies, crushed her navy, captured her treasure, and stripped her of the isle of Cuba, and the Manillas. France had experienced a series of misfortunes in her contest with England. She had lost Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, the islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, Granada, and other islands; her commerce had been annihilated; her navy destroyed, or shut up in her harbours; and her treasury burdened with debt. She, therefore, proposed for peace; and England, swayed by the pacific temper of the king and Lord Bute, and the dissatisfaction of the people, eagerly embraced her overtures; and the four powers England, France, Spain, and Portugal signed the treaty of Fontainebleau November 5, 1762. Maria Theresa was no less anxious for peace with Prussia. Sweden and Russia had deserted her, the princes were failing in their assistance, the resources were nearly exhausted, and the country was desolated by the ravages of hostile troops. She proposed peace to Frederick, who was also favourably inclined; and after a slight discussion, the treaty was signed at Hubertsburg, a Saxon palace, February 5, 1763, by which Maria Theresa renounced her claim to Silesia and Glatz; both parties guaranteed each other's possessions, and engaged to restore all places and prisoners taken in the war; and Frederick solemnly promised to give his vote for the election of the Archduke Joseph king of the Romans. Thus this disastrous Seven Years' War ended, after such a wasteful expenditure of blood and treasure, in placing Germany in the same position she occupied before the outbreak of hostilities. Frederick was able to estimate more truly his own strength, and also that of his rival, and to avoid placing himself in such a critical position as he had during its continuance.

After the rejoicings, with which the termination of hostilities was celebrated, had subsided, the emperor, whose health was very precarious, procured the elevation of his son Joseph to the dignity of the King of the Romans, at Frankfort May 27, 1764, which peaceably secured the imperial crown to the house of Austria. He repaired to Innspruck to celebrate the marriage of his second son Leopold with Maria Louisa, infanta of Spain. He was then extremely ill, and wished to quit the mountainous regions of the Tyrol. As he was retiring one day from the opera, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and expired without a groan in the fifty-eighth year of his age August 18, 1765.

Francis I. possessed qualities which would have eminently fitted him for an inferior station, but disqualified him to sustain the imperial dignity. He was kind, polite, charitable, benevolent, scientific, and careful; but he seems not to have comprehended the duties which were attached to his exalted position. He was co-regent of the Austrian dominions with his empress; yet he resigned to her the entire authority, and was satisfied that no weight was attached to his opinion, even when it was formally solicited on important affairs. He regarded himself as subordinate to his consort, and was only too glad to leave to her the honours due to royalty, that he might direct his attention to other matters. The royal historian, Frederick the Great, thus describes him:—"The emperor, not daring to interfere in state affairs, amused himself with the transaction of mercantile business. He laid by large sums from his Tuscan estates in order to speculate in trade. He always retained alchemists in his service, engaged in the search after the philosopher's stone, and he attempted by means of burning glasses to dissolve several small diamonds into one large one. He established manufactures, lent money on mortgage, and undertook to furnish the whole of the imperial army with uniforms, arms, horses, and liveries. In partnership with Count Botta and a tradesman named Schimmelmann, he farmed the Saxon customs, and in 1756 even supplied the Prussian army with forage and flour." Notwithstanding his weakness, and his numerous infidelities, the empress loved him with a passionate affection, and was plunged into the deepest grief by his decease. She worked his shroud with her own hands, wore mourning till her death, and often descended into the imperial vault which contained his remains to weep and pray, and to stimulate the affection she cherished towards him.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

JOSEPH II. (OF HAPSBURG-LORRAINE.) A.D. 1765-1790.

JOSEPH was in his twenty-fourth year when he was called to the imperial throne. Nature had given him an ardent temper, quick apprehension, and good natural talents; but they were repressed by the uninteresting and absurd teaching of his instructors, who instead of arousing the dormant powers, and creating a thirst for knowledge, only filled the youthful prince with a distaste for learning and science. When the Seven Years' War broke out, his mind was stimulated by the wonderful exploits of the renowned Frederick; but his ambition of serving against the Prussians was checked by his parents, and he yielded himself to indolence lest he should incur their displeasure. In 1763 he had the misfortune to lose his first wife Elizabeth Maria daughter of Philip duke of Parma; and

though he married again just before the death of his father, in obedience to the wishes of his parents, he seemed inconsolable for the loss of his first love. On his accession to the imperial dignity, he was appointed co-regent of the Austrian dominions with his mother; but Maria Theresa continued to hold the reins of government, and till her death in 1780, Joseph entirely resigned to her the administration of affairs. He employed his leisure in a manner honourable to an emperor and gratifying to the prince. He journeyed through his dominions without pomp or splendour, visited and inspected naval and military establishments, the arts and manufactures, courts of justice and charitable institutions. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the condition of his subjects; and was to be seen passing from the mansion of the rich to the hut of the peasant, or the rude cabin of the mountain shepherd. He sympathised with the distresses of the serf, relieved severe cases of want, and won the admiration of all classes by his urbanity, kindness, and generosity.

Maria Theresa embraced the opportunity which peace afforded her of establishing regulations for promoting the welfare of her subjects. She separated the temporal from the spiritual jurisdiction of the clergy; reformed the abuses which had crept into the church and monasteries; forbade landed property to be transferred to the church; and limited the number of monks and nuns. She founded academies for the improvement of the arts and sciences, and raised up numerous schools in her dominions, which were placed under a comprehensive system of popular education. She greatly encouraged the industry of the scholars in sewing, knitting, spinning, &c., so that many of the Bohemian girls were able to earn nearly half a florin a day. She restricted the rights of the chase, and protected the husbandman from injury; encouraged agriculture, and abolished the rural and personal services which the peasants of Bohemia owed to their lords, and commuted them for a sum of money. A hospital for the small pox, which had proved so fatal to her family, and the marks of which she bore on her person, was established; literary piracy was forbidden under severe penalties; and the censorship of the press taken from the clergy, and placed in the hands of a commission of literary men. In her Italian dominions especially she carried out great reforms. In Lombardy the power of the Inquisition was curbed, a fresh valuation of estates was made, an annual budget of the revenue and expenditure presented, the practice of farming the excise to the highest bidder abolished, the rights of the peasantry protected, and the agriculture and commerce of the country promoted. In fact she commenced that system of reformation which was carried to a far greater extent by her son Joseph, though without the sagacity and prudence which distinguished the efforts of the illustrious queen.

There is one event, however, which remains a stain on her fair memory; and it will ever be spoken of as a disgrace to Maria Theresa that she shared in the partition of Poland. The constitution of that unhappy country favoured party factions and foreign

intrigues.\* The influence of Austria had long been maintained in Poland, and had, after the death of John Sobieski, secured the crown to Augustus elector of Saxony, and to his son; and after his death in 1763, the empress prepared to support his son Christian Frederick; but the prince died, leaving an infant son, and she encouraged his brother Prince Xavier to become a candidate for the elective crown. The nation, however, was disturbed by party factions, and many candidates came forward, among whom were Stanislaus Poniatowski, and Count Braniski. The latter was supported by Prince Radzivil, and the nobles who dreaded foreign influence; but Stanislaus was supported by Catherine of Russia, who, notwithstanding the efforts of Maria Theresa and France, compelled the diet by her troops to crown him king. He was no sooner seated on the throne than he was anxious to free himself from Russian bondage, and emancipate himself from the thralldom in which he was held by the constitution. His good intentions aroused the opposition of his enemies; which was secretly fostered by Catherine, who was displeased at his conduct, and by Frederick the Great the ally of Russia, who appeared as the champion of the dissidents against the Catholics. The two parties flew to arms; a confederation of Catholics seized the fortress of Bar, and was assisted by many of the royal troops; while the king was dependent on Russian forces, which ravaged the country, committed the most abominable atrocities, and even entered Turkey, which declared war against the czarina in October, 1768.

Meanwhile the royal philosopher of Sans Souci was devising a plan for the tranquilisation of Poland by gratifying his ambitious desire for Polish Prussia. In 1769 he had an interview with the emperor at Neiss, and attempted to unite the two courts for the interests of Germany; and in a second meeting at Neustadt, Prince Kaunitz urged the king to join Austria in repelling the encroachments of Russia, but Frederick proposed the partition of Poland to compel Russia to yield Moldavia and Wallachia for a share in the spoil. The court of Vienna delayed to return a specific answer, and meanwhile entered into a treaty with the Porte, and agreed to declare war against Russia; and in return was to receive an annual subsidy, part of which was to be paid when the troops were set in motion, which was speedily effected. Frederick furthered his plans by stimulating Russia against Austria, and Austria against Russia; and gained their acquiescence in his designs by means of their mutual fears. He dispatched his brother Henry to Petersburg to negotiate a peace with the Turks, who had solicited the mediation of Prussia and Austria; but Catherine, intoxicated with her conquests, demanded the territory of Azof, the free navigation of the Black

\* The legislature was composed of three parties, king, senate, and equestrian order. The senate consisted of the bishops, governors of provinces and their lieutenants, and the sixteen ministers of state, who were appointed by the king, and were immoveable except by the diet. The equestrian order consisted of nuncios or deputies chosen by the nobles and gentry.

Sea, the independence of the Crimea, and the possession of Moldavia and Wallachia for twenty-five years. He succeeded, however, in arousing her fears respecting the designs of Austria, and prevailed on her to accept a share of Poland as an equivalent for these provinces. The Austrian army entered Poland, and seized the lordship of Zips, as an ancient dependency of Hungary; and Frederick worked on the fears of the court of Vienna, as he had done at St. Petersburg. Kaunitz trembled for his French alliance, and was sanguine of his success, when united with Turkey; but at length the treaty was signed, and each party hastened to seize its prey.

Poland was in a wretched condition; the confederates had made great progress, and were animated with a deadly hatred; the king was kept at Warsaw by Russian troops; and the country was completely ravaged. The three powers published their respective claims to the districts occupied by their troops, and endeavoured to cloak their nefarious acts under the sanction of justice. In vain the king appealed to justice and to foreign powers; the royal robbers required him to summon a diet, which met in April 1773. For some time a true spirit of patriotism pervaded the lower house; but the nobles were awed by the presence of three armies, bribes and promises were profusely scattered among the needy members, and with a majority of six in the senate, and of one in the assembly of nuncios, the decree sanctioning this act of robbery passed. The king long refused to sign it, and desired an asylum rather than dismember his kingdom; but the threats of the Russians aroused his timidity, and he signed the fatal deed. Russia seized the whole of Lithuania, Austria Galicia, and Prussia the rich district of the lower Vistula under the name of Western Prussia.

Maria Theresa had manifested many qualms of conscience during the transaction; and said to Kaunitz, who was the active agent in the matter, "In this affair all justice and sound reason are opposed to us; and I must affirm that never throughout the whole course of my existence have I been so pained, and that I am ashamed to be seen. Let the prince reflect what an example we offer to the whole world by hazarding our reputation and honour for the sake of a miserable bit of Poland." She nevertheless signed the treaty, and her court, with Prussia, even attempted to gain a greater share of the spoil. Stanislaus still retained the title of king over the wretched remnant; the nobles still had the power of annihilating the decision of the diet by the *liberum veto*; but the country sunk deeper and deeper in distress and misery.

The relations between France and Austria were gradually becoming more distant as the ambition of the latter increased. To bind the two courts more closely the lovely daughter of Maria Theresa, Marie Antoinette had in 1770 been given to the Dauphin, who in 1774 ascended the throne as Louis XVI.; but the extension of Austria's power and influence by the accession of the Polish territory created a suspicious jealousy in France, which was fostered by Vergennes, the prime minister of Louis. The king saw the necessity of retaining Prussia as a counterpoise to Austria; and his policy

was stated in a letter to his minister. "We have nothing at present to do, but to watch carefully, and be on our guard relative to everything that comes from the court of Vienna; civility and reserve must be the rule of our conduct." Louis appears also to have cherished great personal dislike to Joseph, and to have feared his despotic and ambitious designs. The emperor also did not conceal his aversion to the French; though the queen and Kaunitz sincerely desired to unite the nations by the closest ties. The prince dispatched Baron Thugut to France to propose a defensive league against Russia, whose encroachments on Turkey were evident; but he failed to accomplish anything; and when the emperor repaired to Paris to visit his sister, and to ascertain the sentiments of France, the most studied reserve on political subjects was manifested.

Austria had often desired the province of Bavaria, and had more than once offered to exchange a larger and more distant district for that country. The death of the elector Dec. 30 1777, excited the hope of securing the territory. The court of Vienna had anxiously watched the health of the prince, who was without issue, and had prepared to assert her rights to the country. Maria Theresa claimed the greater portion as sovereign of Hungary, and Joseph a few districts as male fiefs reverting to the empire. The elector was no sooner seized with the small pox than the Austrian troops secured Munich, and occupied the contested districts. The Elector Palatine, the next heir, had been persuaded by Austria to cede Lower Bavaria to the emperor on condition of his providing for his natural son; but his successor the Duke of Deux Ponts was incited by Frederick of Prussia to oppose the concession; and the Bavarians were decidedly averse to the Austrian rule. The duke publicly appealed to the diet and to Frederick; the king entered into negotiations with the court of Vienna; and each party replied to the questions raised with equal ingenuity and fertility. During these tedious paper controversies, preparations were made for a more deadly contest. The Bavarian and Prussian troops took the field under the command of the aged Frederick; and Joseph, burning with his youthful enthusiasm to engage his rival, placed himself at the head of his troops. The emperor took up a celebrated position at Konigsgratz, and Laudon defended the frontiers of Saxony and Lusatia. Frederick invaded Bohemia, and encamped opposite the emperor, while Prince Henry opposed Laudon. The war, however, was one of skirmishes and foraging; and Frederick confessed that it brought him more hay than laurels; while the soldiers called it the "Potatoe war," as their chief occupation consisted in devouring the potatoes which were captured by their parties. Maria Theresa, now grey and declining, dreaded war, and exerted her influence to prevent a collision of the two armies. When negotiations had been broken off, she dispatched Baron Thugut with a private letter to the king, and entreated him to conclude a peace honourable to both parties; but the extravagant demands of Frederick prevented her accepting his terms. Joseph and Kaunitz were indignant at her for renewing the negotiation when they had splendid armies and were sure of victory, and when a

dignified and firm resolution would cause the king to yield. Fortunately for the queen and for Europe, France came to her aid, as much to show respect for the treaty with Austria, as to prevent her aggrandisement by the defeat of the Prussians, and the conquest of Bavaria. Russia also was interested in the settlement of the affair; and though she had promised to aid Prussia in the contest, she was induced to yield to the urgent entreaties of Maria Theresa, and to offer her mediation. Frederick, deserted by Catherine, and opposed by France, relinquished his extravagant demands, and proposed a plan of pacification which he was sure the queen would accept. A congress was opened at Teschen by the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent and mediating powers, of Saxony, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Deux Ponts. The intrigues and rash efforts of Joseph threatened to break off the negotiations; but at length peace was concluded on the 13th of May 1779, when Austria gained the province of the Inn, and relinquished the rest of Bavaria. Maria Theresa was filled with the most profound joy at this termination of hostilities, which prevented so much bloodshed and distress, and repaired to the cathedral in great state to render thanks to God for the successful issue of her efforts.

The empress-queen had the satisfaction, in the last year of her long and glorious reign, of gaining the empress of Russia, and uniting the two houses in a close alliance. The indignation of the emperor at the conduct of the French increased; and he strove by every means in his power to weaken, without formally breaking off, the connection of France with Austria. He inveighed against the perfidy of the court of Versailles; which, while professing friendship with England, was secretly assisting the rebels in the American war, and at length openly declared in their favour, and aided them with troops. He created a favourable impression in England by his pacific professions, and sought to destroy the influence of the King of Prussia at the courts of London and St. Petersburg. He obtained an interview with the renowned Catherine, flattered her love of adulation, won over her favourite minister Prince Potemkin, resided a few weeks in the Russian palace, and conciliated all by his winning address and his graceful deportment. He so captivated the great empress that she declared that Frederick, who had hitherto been attractive in her eyes, was now old and superannuated; and the influence of Prussia was at an end in the Russian court.

The days of Maria Theresa were drawing to a rapid termination. She had for some time past endured great sufferings, which she bore with resignation and cheerfulness; and her sensitive nature was much more keenly affected by the grief of others, than by her own pains. She summoned her numerous children around her, and having partaken of the last rites of the church, committed them to the care of the emperor. and urged them to consider him as their sovereign. "Obey him, respect him, follow his advice, confide in him, love him sincerely, and you will secure his friendship and affection." She employed her last moments in explaining the state of affairs to the emperor, and writing letters to Kaunitz to thank him for



his faithful services, and to the Chancellor of Hungary to testify her gratitude to her trusty subjects for their zeal on her behalf; and in a calm and peaceful manner she expired November 29th, 1780.

The character of Maria Theresa shines forth conspicuously equally as a sovereign and as an individual. She combined private economy with public liberality, dignity with condescension, elevation of soul with humility of spirit, and the virtues of domestic life with the splendid qualities which grace a throne. She possessed a mind capable of grasping the intricate details of government, and of following the mazes of diplomacy; a soul which rose superior to calamity, and scorned to submit to injustice. In a most licentious age, she was distinguished for the purity of her private life; and she gave dignity to her simple manners by her benevolence, justice, affability, and concern for the poor. Her share in the partition of Poland exposed her to the censure of her enemies; though they did not condemn the deed more loudly than did Maria Theresa when she reflected on its character. Her death was deeply felt by her loving subjects, and produced a sensation throughout Europe; and her reign is justly considered the most glorious in Austrian history. She was the last sovereign of the direct Hapsburg house, and at her death began the present dynasty of Hapsburg-Lorraine.

By the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph obtained undivided possession of the Austrian dominions, in addition to his imperial dignity, and commenced his administration with the most flattering prospects. He swayed the sceptre over a population of twenty-four millions, scattered over a number of provinces which were distinguished by language, customs, religion, and government. He had in many instances showed his determination to reform abuses during the life of his mother; and when her death removed all fear of opposition, he began resolutely to carry out his gigantic plans of reform. He abolished the separate jurisdiction of the provinces, and divided the Austrian monarchy into thirteen governments, each of which was subdivided into circles or districts, and the whole placed under a uniform and graduated system of government, political, economical, judicial and military. He abolished feudal vassalage; and substituted a fixed tax in place of the task-works due to the lord, and of the land-tax due to the crown. He issued in October 1781 an edict of toleration, which secured to all Christians the free exercise of their religion, rights of citizenship, and eligibility to all offices. He granted permission to Protestants and Greeks to build churches, provided there was a population of 3000 resident in any town, and they established a permanent fund for the support of the minister, and the relief of the poor. The Jews were allowed the exercise of all trades, and the right of studying at the schools and universities. While he established the Catholic religion as the religion of the state, he forbade the bishops to carry out any bull, except it was received through the government, reduced the revenues of the bishops, and created new parishes. He suppressed most of the monasteries and nunneries, and retained a few of the inmates for the purposes of education; and many nuns were reduced to the greatest distress by

the small pensions allowed to the ejected. He instituted public schools and universities in every province of his kingdom; formed libraries, observatories, and laboratories, encouraged manufactures and commerce; dug new roads and canals; and formed a harbour at Carlobago. He fostered the Hungarian corn trade, and commenced the grand route through the Danube, Black Sea, and Dardanelles by a treaty with Turkey. In his reforms on religion, he sought to reduce it to simplicity by forbidding pilgrimages, and stripping the images and ornaments from the churches. He declared marriage to be merely a civil contract, the right of primogeniture nugatory, and prohibited all funeral pomp and procession.

Such innovations awakened the discontent of his subjects, which burst out in many parts; the clergy generally protested against the changes; the life of Joseph was endangered at Lemberg, and his name was blackened by scurrilous pamphlets which flew over the country. The pope Pius VI. became so alarmed that he resolved to undertake a journey to Vienna, where, he flattered himself, his eloquence would be able to arrest the dangerous innovations. He was received with every mark of honour. Thousands lined his path to crave his heavenly blessing; the emperor went out to meet him, and conveyed him to his capital in his own carriage. His mission, however, was a failure; the emperor was unbending; the apartments of the pontiff were narrowly watched; and after spending four weeks in Vienna, the pope retired, humbled and mortified; and Joseph continued his reforms. On his return to Rome, the cardinals bitterly reproached the pontiff, who was persuaded not to recognise the archbishop of Milan nominated by Joseph. The emperor suddenly appeared in Rome in 1783, where he was received with the applause of the populace; and manifested his opposition to the pope by depriving the nuncios of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed.

The sanguine and impetuous nature of Joseph involved him in great troubles. He had been unsparing in his invectives against France and the alliance with Maria Theresa; but now to secure the demolition of the Barrier Treaty, he revisited Paris, and rejoiced in the certainty of an alliance with the court of Versailles, which, he said, "will at least continue in force a hundred years." The Barrier Treaty had been during the reign of the queen the cause of endless disputes respecting the repairs of fortifications. The alliance of France with Austria rendered the treaty useless while that continued; but the empress was too prudent to trust the French court, and drive out the Dutch garrisons. Her son was more rash, and had no sooner returned from Paris than he ordered the fortifications of the Netherlands to be destroyed, except Luxemburg Ostend, Namur and Antwerp, and the Dutch to recall their garrisons, which they speedily executed. Not satisfied with this, he demanded that the limits of Austrian Flanders should be restored to what they were in 1664. While negotiations were being carried on at Brussels, Joseph promised to renounce his claims on the condition that the navigation of the Scheldt should be opened, and sent tow

vessels down the river. Kaunitz remonstrated, and said "They will fire upon them;" but Joseph refused to listen; and when the minister sent him the tidings of the resistance, he wrote on the dispatches the laconic sentence "They have fired." As France did not assist him, but promised to aid the Dutch, Joseph receded from his demands, and war was prevented by the treaty of Fontainebleau November 8, 1785, by which the Dutch agreed to give the emperor ten million of guilders as compensation, and to apologise for the insult offered to the imperial flag.

Joseph was extremely anxious to keep up the favourable impression he had made on Catherine of Russia. The two sovereigns corresponded with each other; and the emperor entered with great zeal into the ambitious designs of the empress. She had procured the independence of the Crimea, as the first step to its subjugation. She availed herself of the decease of the khan to secure the nomination of her creature, who soon after abdicated, and ceded that province to Catherine; and the Russian general took possession of it in her name. The Porte remonstrated, and prepared to resist the encroachment; and hostilities seemed inevitable. Russia made the greatest preparations. Joseph warmly offered his assistance, marched an Austrian army to the frontiers of Turkey, and remonstrated with the Sultan. Abdul Hamid was obliged to yield; and in 1784 the Crimea and the Kuban were transferred to Russia. Joseph in return claimed the assistance of Catherine in accomplishing his ambitious projects. He coveted the ultra-Danubian provinces; but was defeated by France, who threatened to stir up enemies on every side. He then turned his attention to the exchange of Bavaria for the Netherlands. The Austrian sovereigns had often desired Bavaria to render their territories more compact. He persuaded the elector to exchange the electorate for the low countries which were to be created into a kingdom with the title of Burgundy; and Catherine endeavoured to obtain the consent of the Duke of Deux Ponts the next heir. France was gained by the promise of Namur and Luxemburg. Frederick of Prussia, however, though now seventy-four years of age, prevented the accomplishment of the scheme. He promised assistance to the Duke of Deux Ponts, persuaded him to appeal to the guarantees of the peace of Teschen, and aroused the subjects in Bavaria and the Netherlands, and the German princes. He formed a Germanic union, which was signed at Berlin July 23, 1785, by the Kings of Prussia and Great Britain, the Electors of Saxony and Mentz, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and other princes; the object of which was to unite the princes to maintain the indivisibility of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular. The emperor was alarmed at the rising storm; he gave up his designs, and published a declaration of what his real intentions were. This was almost the last public act of the illustrious Frederick; and on the 17th of August 1786, the house of Austria was delivered from its most formidable rival. His character is too well known to need any notice here. He had increased his army to 200,000 men, his population by two million souls, and his revenues

to double what they were, notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices he had made to carry on his long and disastrous wars.

A great crisis was now rapidly approaching. Philosophy and speculation had turned men's brains, and filled them with vague ideas of freedom, man's rights, and republican governments. In Holland the patriots, or republicans, rose against the authority of the stadtholder, and both parties appealed to foreign powers for assistance. France aided the patriots; but her own crippled and embarrassed condition, and the menacing attitude of England caused her to decline a contest; and the new sovereign of Prussia, Frederick William, sent an army to the aid of the Prince of Orange, which overran the country, and reinstated the authority of the stadtholder. Joseph secretly sheltered the patriots, and embraced the opportunity, when Prussia was thus occupied, of carrying out his plans for sharing with Russia the spoils of Turkey. He arranged an interview with Catherine, when she was performing her celebrated grand march to the Crimea. The journey was a triumphal procession; the steppes were peopled, the roads illuminated, and a desolate and inhospitable region made to assume the appearance of luxuriant prosperity. Joseph met the empress at Cherson in May 1787, where a magnificent arch was erected, on which were inscribed the significant words "The way to Byzantium;" and he accompanied her in her journey through the Crimea and viewed the powerful navy which was then riding safely in the harbour of Sebastopol.

The Porte anticipated their designs by declaring war against Russia, and a Turkish squadron appeared at the mouth of the Dnieper and bombarded Kimburn. The empress was astonished at the energy of the Turks, and called on Joseph for his promised aid. He intrigued at Constantinople, and dreaded a war when he was threatened with an insurrection in the Netherlands, and distracted by the intrigues of France and Prussia. He accelerated his preparations, moved his troops towards the Turkish frontiers, and even attempted to surprise Belgrade before the Turks had declared hostilities. The Porte in vain appealed to his justice and his gratitude. Joseph declared war against the Turks in February, 1788, and appeared with an army of 200,000 men, and a powerful artillery to co-operate with the Russians against Turkey. Their plans were frustrated by an invasion of the King of Sweden, which called Catherine to defend her capital. Joseph wasted his time in waiting for the Russians; and when the grand vizier appeared with a numerous army, he retreated from Belgrade with a diseased and depressed army, and an exhausted chest. Pestilence alone had carried off 33,000 of his men. The Prince of Coburg, however, succeeded, after a brilliant struggle, in capturing Chotzim; and Laudon, whom Joseph now appointed to command the army in Croatia, successfully defeated the Turks, penetrated into the heart of Bosnia, and invested and captured Novi. Disasters still befel the emperor. He took up a position at Caransebes, where the Turks formed batteries on the opposite hills, and attacked the imperial camp. He speedily broke up his camp in dismay. Confusion and

alarm spread through the ranks; the retreat became a rout; the emperor was hurried along with the crowd; and the baggage and artillery remained in the hands of the enemy. He retired to Vienna shattered in body and mind, and shut himself up in his palace to brood over his misfortunes and indulge his grief.

In 1789 the genius of Laudon, and the death of the Sultan, retrieved the honour of the imperial arms. The Prince of Coburg united with 7,000 Russians under the celebrated Suwarof, advanced from Chotzim, and completely annihilated the main army under the Bashaw of Widdin on the plains of Rimmik. Laudon besieged Belgrade with his accustomed impetuosity, and in the space of one month captured the city and fortress. This victory animated the emperor for a time. He rose from his bed to hear a *Te Deum* in St. Stephen, and listened to the songs and rejoicings for his victorious general with mingled feelings of disappointment and delight. His success, however, only raised up more powerful foes against him. The Netherlands were still in rebellion; Hungary was discontented; and the maritime powers joined Prussia in concerting a coalition to stop the advance of Austria and Russia.

The alliance of France, which had dazzled the house of Austria with such brilliant prospects, failed at the time of need. A mighty change had been gradually creeping over the kingdom. The corruption and profusion of the court of the late king produced a reaction on the people. A stern, cold, sceptical philosophy penetrated all classes; the pride and privileges of the nobles galled the people; the contact in the American war imported a spirit of republicanism into the nation, which at this eventful period produced its bitter fruits. A cry was made for a new order of things. The populace rose, seized the arsenal, stormed the Bastille, and wrung out concessions from the unfortunate Louis. A panic seized the princes and nobles, and they fled from their country. The assembly assumed a permanent position; the palace was assailed; the king and queen dragged as prisoners to the capital, and every indignity heaped on the wretched captives. Joseph could never expect assistance from those who were thus insulting his own sister.

While engaged in his Turkish wars, the emperor was kept in a state of continual alarm by the condition of the Netherlands. The reforms which he had introduced into his hereditary dominions were also imposed on this country; where the government had been confirmed by the sovereign on his accession, the power of the clergy was unbounded, and the people tenaciously attached to their own customs, religion, and rights. In 1786 he abolished the privileges of the university of Louvain, the honours of which were necessary to qualify for civil and ecclesiastical offices; and established a new seminary, based on more modern principles, and presided over by learned foreigners. This innovation caused an insurrection among the students, which was put down by military force; but when the changes in the civil government were introduced, the clergy and people united to resist the inroad on their freedom. Brabant was the first to rebel. Joseph treated the affair with indifference; but

Kaunitz attempted to soothe them with great concessions. On his return from the Crimea, the emperor ordered his troops to march to the Netherlands, under the command of General d'Alton; and appointed Trautmansdorf, civil governor. There was no co-operation between these two persons; the governor conciliated the people by his clemency and forbearance; the general boasted that in six weeks he would subjugate the Netherlands.

The natives became disgusted with the duplicity of Joseph. Brabant was ripe for revolution; and when a detachment of troops fired on the populace who had insulted them, the signal was given for resistance in all the provinces. The republicanism of France had here taken root; the patriots daily increased in number; the walls were placarded with addresses, calling the people to execute vengeance on the oppressor, and gain their freedom. Several skirmishes took place; and at length Van der Noot, a clear-headed lawyer of Brussels, gained the support of Prussia and Holland. He disciplined the volunteers, distributed arms and ammunition among them, and raised a force 10,000 men. His plans were wisely arranged, and well matured; and Van der Mersch, an old imperial commander, was appointed to command the troops. A declaration was published that they renounced their allegiance, and no longer considered Joseph their sovereign. The army commenced its march; the forts of Lillo and Liefgenshoek on the Scheldt were taken; Ghent was carried by surprise; and in a short time all Flanders was in their hands. D'Alton capitulated in Brussels, leaving his cannon, military chest, and stores in possession of the patriots; and the imperial troops retired into Luxemburg, where General Bender purposed to defend the sole province which adhered to the house of Austria. Joseph received the news of the revolution with extreme distress. He burst into tears; and when too late sent Prince Cobenzl to revoke his late edicts, and restore their privileges. His overtures were rejected; the congress was already summoned to form a new constitution; and on the 11th of January 1790 the Netherlands declared themselves independent.

Nor was this the only disturbance created by the reforms he had rashly thrust on his subjects. From all parts of his dominions complaints came pouring in against the innovations. In Hungary the discontent was loud and menacing; the people were exasperated by the irregular levies for the Turkish war; the nobles by the abrogation of their privileges. Prussia had stimulated the discontent to increase the troubles of the emperor, and divert his attention from the war. To conciliate the Hungarians he restored their constitution as it was at his accession, and sent back the crown of St. Stephen, with the intention of being crowned by the nobles. The reverence of the people for the ensign of royalty was marvellous. Its passage was far more pompous and gorgeous than that of a conqueror. Buda was illuminated, and the whole nation filled with joy. Joseph did not live to hear the acclamation of his subjects. He had worn out his constitution with his exertion of body and mind. The noxious vapours of the Danube brought on a fever, which left him a victim

to asthma. The ingratitude of his subjects, who failed to appreciate his reforms and broke out into rebellion, led him to exclaim "I shall die; I must be made of wood if this does not kill me." He prepared for his last moments by receiving the consolations of religion, and continued to the end, amid his excruciating sufferings, to direct the affairs of government. He bade farewell to his family, gave his final interview to Francis his favourite nephew, and died at Vienna February 20, 1790.

Frederick the Great, in a letter to Voltaire, remarked concerning this emperor, "Educated amid bigotry, he is free from superstition; habituated to pomp, his habits are simple; grown up amidst flattery, he is still moderate." He undoubtedly possessed great natural talents and many aimable virtues; but he was too sanguine in his temperament, and too hasty in his conclusions. He was the advocate of freedom, and wished to present the boon to his subjects; yet no sovereign could be more despotic in his rule, or absolute in his principles. His plans of reform were comprehensive, and generally just; but they were not suited to his dominions; nor to the character of his subjects. He was extremely precipitate in all his movements and manifested duplicity and versatility towards all. He himself has depicted his own character in the epitaph he would have engraven on his tomb, "Here lies a sovereign, who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution."

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### LEOPOLD II. A.D. 1790-1792.

LEOPOLD was the second son of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine; and as the grand duchy of Tuscany was to remain separate from the hereditary dominions of Austria, he in 1765 took possession of the duchy, and fixed his residence at Florence. He employed his talents in promoting the prosperity of his territory, and had the satisfaction of seeing Tuscany the happiest and most flourishing state of Italy. He exceeded his brother in the wisdom of his reforms, which he introduced with prudence and firmness. He promulgated a new criminal law, which swept away torture, secret trial, and capital punishment. The public courts were invested with great authority, and private jurisdiction abolished. He removed all restrictions on agriculture, suppressed feudal rights, brought large tracts of land into cultivation, which he divided among the poor peasants subject to a small crown rent, and abolished the monopolies and the practice of farming the taxes. His ecclesiastical reforms were extensive and beneficial. He abolished the Inquisition, placed the monks and nuns under the

jurisdiction of their respective bishops, and reformed their discipline. A grand council of the bishops of Tuscany was held at Florence, where he presented fifty-seven articles for the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline. On the death of his brother Joseph, he transferred Tuscany to his second son, Ferdinand Joseph, and hastened to Vienna to secure the hereditary countries and the imperial crown.

Leopold was in his forty-third year when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. His situation was one of great peril; he felt the throne tottering under him; and as he surveyed his territories, he discerned the dangers which threatened their safety. The rash innovations of his brother were producing their sad results. The Netherlands were in open revolt, and had declared their independence; Bohemia and Austria were disaffected, and exhibiting signs of rebellion; Hungary was in a state of fermentation, and growled out that she had no need of an Austrian king. The aspect of the surrounding nations was not more inviting. England had been estranged from Austria by her connection with France. Prussia assumed a hostile attitude, and entered into an alliance with England and the Porte. France was convulsed by the revolution, and would certainly dissolve the treaty of Versailles. Russia was threatened with a mighty combination and was, as well as Austria, engaged in a war with Turkey. The position of the emperor, therefore, demanded the greatest vigilance, dexterity and address; and he summoned his energy and talents to secure an honourable peace with Turkey, to pacify his subjects, recover the Netherlands, and gain the friendship of Prussia.

He immediately opened a correspondence with Frederick William, and offered to conclude peace with the Turks on the terms of the treaty of Passarowitz. He at the same time assembled a considerable army in Moravia and Bohemia under Laudon, in case of an attack by Prussia; and reinforced the Danubian troops, which he entrusted to the command of the duke of Coburg. Orsova was abandoned to its fate; and the Turks drove the Austrians from their lines at Giurgevo. A congress was meanwhile assembled at Reichenbach; but the negotiations were rendered fruitless by the refusal of the emperor to yield a portion of Galicia, with which the king of Prussia wished to buy Dantzic and Thorn from Poland. Leopold skilfully opened a secret communication with England, and announced his readiness to conclude a separate treaty with the Porte on obtaining possession of Old Orsova, and a small mountainous district in Croatia along the left bank of the Una, which were necessary to protect his frontiers by the Danube and the Una. The English declared their readiness to accept these terms; and Frederick William, fearing that a treaty would be concluded without his concurrence, and the whole allied force turned against him, agreed to these preliminaries; and after serious disputes respecting the cession of the territory demanded by Leopold, the treaty of Szistova was signed August 4, 1791 which granted the demands of Austria. England, however, deserted Prussia in an attempt to



compel the empress of Russia to conclude a peace with the Turks; for though Pitt exerted his utmost to preserve Turkey and curb Russia, his plans were thwarted by the extraordinary measures of his opponent Fox. This ripened the friendship of Prussia into an alliance with Austria, and gained for Leopold the support of the king in securing the imperial dignity. He was unanimously chosen king of the Romans, and on the 9th of October was joyfully crowned at Frankfort by the elector of Mentz.

Having secured his first object, peace with the Turks, Leopold directed his attention to the pacification of his subjects in his hereditary dominions. He abolished the land-tax, which was universally detested; restored the episcopal schools and their revenues; and gave back to each kingdom, province, and district the form of government which had existed under the reign of Maria Theresa. He removed the restrictions on the importation of foreign commodities, extended the edict of toleration, and awakened the gratitude of the Jews by still further encouraging their residence and trade in his territories. By these conciliatory measures he quelled the disaffection of his subjects in Austria and Bohemia. In Hungary he had a more difficult class to deal with, the discontented nobles. They prided themselves on having extorted privileges from Joseph II., and cherished the hope of being able to dictate to Leopold their own terms. He, however, disregarded their lawless addresses, and summoned a general diet that he might be crowned king; a ceremony which had not taken place since the affecting scene of the coronation of Maria Theresa. The haughty nobles prepared a new capitulation to be signed by the king, which contained their imperious demands, and was presented to him at Vienna. He gave them a dignified and decided refusal. "I will never suffer the rights of succession belonging to me and my heirs to be taken into consideration; I will never acquiesce in any innovation in the military or executive power; nor will I ever consent to the smallest infraction of the privileges granted to the non-Catholics." He drew 60,000 troops from Moravia and Bohemia towards Buda, and demanded to be crowned at Presburg on the terms signed by his grandfather Charles, and his mother Maria Theresa. On the 10th of November 1790, the king reached Presburg with his five sons, where his presence awed his enemies and animated his friends. He appointed his son Archduke Leopold to the office of Palatine, and said, "I offer you my son as a pledge of my sincere regard, to become a distinguished mediator between us, and to promote our mutual affection." The entire assembly was moved by the affectionate sentiments of Leopold. The crown was placed on his head on the 15th; and he unexpectedly rose, and consented to establish a law, compelling every future king to be crowned within six months after his accession. The nation was conciliated; and the changes introduced promoted the welfare and happiness of the people.

The Netherlands were in a state of confusion and distress. All classes had united to overthrow the Austrian rule; but their success soon separated them into factions, each of which claimed the sole

government. Van der Noot headed one party, which wished to preserve the existing congress; and Walchiers headed another, which demanded a national assembly after the French model. Both factions appealed to foreign powers; the former to England, Prussia, and Holland; and the latter to France. England and Holland advised them to return to their allegiance; but the Jacobins promised them their warmest support, and sent numerous agents to inflame the minds of the people. The troops were also opposed to the congress for refusing to confirm their appointment of Van der Merseh as their general, and for confining him in the citadel of Antwerp. These divisions enabled the Austrian troops in Luxemburg to maintain themselves against the insurgents, and even to recover Limburg. Leopold sent large reinforcements to his army; and while they were rapidly marching, he made overtures to the rebels, and requested the mediation of the allied powers. A congress was held at the Hague. Austria sent Count Merey; England, Lord Auckland; Prussia, Count Keller; and Holland Van der Spiegel. The emperor promised to restore the governments of the provinces as they were during the reign of his mother, and to revoke all the innovations of Joseph. Many of the states were inclined to yield at once; but Brussels sent deputies to claim the re-establishment of the ancient constitution they enjoyed at the commencement of the reign of Charles VI., and a further armistice of eight days. Count Merey refused their demands, and stated that at the expiration of the time named for their submission, November 21, the troops would move. The time passed; and the imperial army under general Bender crossed the Meuse, and before the close of the year reduced all the provinces to the Austrian sway. The mediating powers, especially Prussia, were indignant at the haughty bearing of Merey, and the employment of force; and were inclined to urge the people not to submit to the propositions of the emperor, but to claim the more ancient constitution, which had been guaranteed by the maritime powers. Leopold, however, refused to yield to the remonstrance of the allies, and confirmed the late privileges of the states without their interference. In Brabant the spirit of revolution was kept alive by the French Jacobins, and was increased by the impolicy of the emperor; who removed obnoxious members from their seats, and suspended the sittings of the council. The refusal of Leopold to grant to the Netherlands their ancient constitution produced two disastrous results. It threw the country into a state of jealousy and plotting, which the vigorous measures of the government could scarcely repress; and it deprived Austria of the assistance of the maritime powers in case of an attack by France.

Nor was such an event unlikely to occur. In that unhappy country all things were rapidly coming to a crisis. The privileges of the crown were banished; the parliaments were suppressed; the revenues of the clergy were seized; and the king, queen, and family were shut up in the Tuileries, exposed to insults and reproaches, and forced to acknowledge the revolution. Leopold beheld the situation of his sister with the greatest anxiety, and was appealed to by the

princes of the German Rhenish provinces to interfere on their behalf, and resist the abolition of all ecclesiastical and territorial rights in their dominions by the French National Assembly, to which they had in vain appealed. As emperor of Germany, he sent a letter to the king, demanding the re-establishment of the rights which had been secured to the German princes by the peace of Westphalia and subsequent treaties; but the king was forced by the ruling faction to return such an answer to Leopold as would have provoked a less pacific sovereign to commence hostilities. Leopold was extremely careful not to give the democrats any occasion which they might employ against the royal family. He drew out plans to rescue his relatives from their perilous situation, but discarded them through fear; and hoped that some event would occur to bring about a more favourable state of affairs.

The failure of the attempt of the king to escape from Paris, and the greater strictness with which he was guarded, aroused Leopold from his apparent indifference. He published July 6, 1791, a solemn appeal to the European powers, demanding the liberation of the king and royal family; and in the following month met the King of Prussia at Piltz to concert measures for stopping the progress of revolutionary principles. His intentions, however, were strictly pacific; and it required the violent measures of the Jacobins, and their insulting harangues against the house of Austria, to stimulate him to further measures. The reason of his policy is to be found in the critical situation of his sister. She was represented by the democrats as holding a committee of Austrians in the capital, where plans were formed to deliver France to Austria, and place the Hapsburg yoke on the necks of the people. The least provocation, therefore, might have aroused the fanatical mob to shed the blood of the royal family. He even advised the Rhenish princes to disperse the emigrants, who had flocked thither, and to suspend their military preparations. The violence of the Girondists, now the most powerful party of the republicans, increased, and impelled the country into a war with Austria; and preparations were made on a large scale.

Leopold saw that it was now time to take necessary precautions. He concluded an alliance with Prussia, and caused the troops of the Netherlands to enter the electorate of Treves; which he justified to France by pleading her menacing attitude. The orators of the tribune seized this tempting pretext, and poured out their glowing invectives against Austria. Gaudet roused the assembly to the highest enthusiasm; and Brissot pointed out the emperor as the real enemy of France. The king was commanded to demand of Austria, whether she would live in peace with France, and renounce all treaties granting to her full sovereignty. Kaunitz replied with dignified calmness, and justified his support of the German states; and Prussia declared her agreement with the policy of Leopold. A furious storm burst forth in Paris; the cry of war! war! resounded in the assembly and the streets; the bleeding head of a victim was held up by the mob before the apartments of the queen to represent her brother; the minister for foreign affairs was dismissed, and sent for

trial at Orleans; and the revolutionists gained a fearful ascendancy. Leopold did not live to see the raging of the tempest. He died after a few days' illness March 1, 1792, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His reign in Austria was too short to display the qualities which had rendered his rule in Tuscany so distinguished. He had hushed the discontent of his subjects, concluded an honourable peace with Turkey, and regained the Netherlands; and was regretted for his impartiality, kindness, aversion to war, and care for the poor. His beloved wife survived him but a few months.

## CHAPTER XIX.

FRANCIS II. A.D. 1792-1806.

FRANCIS, the eldest son of Leopold and of Maria Louisa of Spain, was born at Florence in 1768, and was early sent to Vienna to the care of his uncle Joseph, where he received the instructions of the ablest masters that could be procured. He especially distinguished himself in administrative science, and readily grasped the intricate details of government. He displayed his military ardour in several campaigns against the Turks, and was present with Laudon at the capture of Belgrade. On the death of Joseph, he held the reins of government till his father arrived from Tuscany, and rendered him great assistance in restraining the turbulence of his subjects. He succeeded his father in his hereditary dominions, and in July was raised to the imperial dignity by the unanimous voice of the electors.

The storm which had threatened the short reign of Leopold now burst forth in its full fury. The Jacobins replied to the note of the late emperor in a fierce and warlike spirit; and an angry correspondence ensued. Francis peremptorily demanded the restoration of the rights of the church and of the princes in Alsace. The French assembly refused to grant the demand; and on the 20th of April the unfortunate Louis was compelled to declare war against Austria in the assembly, which was hailed with applause by the republican party, and voted by the unanimous consent of the members. The Netherlands were assailed by a large French force; but the troops were led by inexperienced officers, and were easily routed by the small Austrian army retained in the province. The Austrian and Prussian army, under the command of Ferdinand duke of Brunswick, meanwhile crossed the Rhine, and established head quarters at Coblenz, whither the emigrants under Condé flocked. A daring manifesto was published by the sovereigns, against the advice of the duke, in which they stated their intention of levelling Paris to the ground, if the French did not yield to their demands. The Prussians despised the vigorous preparations of the republic, and imagined

that the very sight of their veteran columns would terrify the raw conscripts. They expected that the manifesto would awe the *parvenus* in Paris; but instead of being terror-stricken, the French were filled with unbounded rage, and vented their fury on the wretched king by tearing him from his palace, and imprisoning him in the Temple. The nation flew to arms to defend their country against the invaders. The allied troops crossed the frontiers, and after many unnecessary delays invested and captured the fortress of Longwy, and procured the surrender of Verdun, which opened up the road to Paris.

The expectations of the allies, however, were not realised. The people did not rise to welcome them, as it had been foretold they would; the French troops rebelled against Lafayette their general, who disapproved of the treatment the king had received, and fled from the country; and Dumoriez, who succeeded him, deceived the duke by pretended negotiations, and gained time to bring up reinforcements. In vain the King of Prussia advised a speedy march to Paris; the duke still delayed, till a large army opposed him at Valmy. The king took upon himself to order the Prussians to advance, and seize the heights held by Kellerman, and a furious cannonade was opened on both sides; but the duke soon after commanded the troops to retire. Negotiations were entered into; an armistice was signed; and the allies retreated, after having lost one-fourth of their army, and abandoned the fortresses they had captured. In the Netherlands the French were defeated by the Archduke Albert near Bruillè; but the retreat of the Prussians enabled Dumoriez to concentrate his efforts on that country. He gained, November 6, a complete victory over the Austrians at Jemappes, and soon after captured Liege, Antwerp, and the greater part of Flanders. Another French army under General Custine marched to the Upper Rhine, and established itself in Mentz.

Meanwhile the republicans were increasing their hatred of royalty and their guilt. The National Convention decreed that it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty; and denounced as enemies those who still adhered to their sovereign and privileged orders. The land flowed with the blood of the innocent; and on the 21st of January 1793, the unfortunate Louis was sacrificed to the sanguinary cry of the mob. A great coalition was formed among the European powers against France. England eagerly hastened to defend their allies, the Dutch; and the proposition made in the convention to invade Britain with 40,000 men united all parties for the war. France was threatened on every side, and was agitated by a terrible civil strife. The combination against her was sufficient to crush her forces, and capture Paris; but the allied arms were not guided by wisdom, nor animated with zeal. Austria maintained two large armies, one in the Netherlands under Prince Coburg, and the other on the Upper Rhine under Count Wurmser. The Duke of York with 37,000 English, Hanoverians, and Hessians laid siege to Dunkirk. Dumoriez was dissatisfied with the Jacobin rule, and suffered himself to be defeated at Aldenhoven

and Neerwinden, and finally deserted to the Austrians. Valencienues and Conde fell into the hands of Coburg.

Disunion, however, soon broke out among the confederates; the King of Prussia saw with alarm the acquisitions of her rival Austria, and resolved to withdraw from the contest, as soon as he could with any appearance of honour. The French were by no means inactive. The nation was aroused to the highest state of excitement; volunteers poured in in vast numbers; generals sprung up with powerful armies as if created by magic; and in a short time nearly a million soldiers could be enrolled in various parts of the country. The indecision of the allies enabled the French to take the field, and oppose their progress. Houchard attacked the English at Hondscoten with his undisciplined troops, and defeated them by numbers and republican energy. Jourdan drove the Austrian army from the field at Wattigny on the day when the illustrious Maria Antoinette was beheaded; an act which provoked the cry of vengeance in all parts of the Austrian dominions. These successes, however, were counterbalanced by corresponding losses. Mentz was taken by the Prussians after six months' siege; General Wurmser with his terrible Croats stormed and captured the Weissenberg lines; and the Duke of Brunswick defeated the untrained masses of General Hoche at Kaiserslautern. Wurmser and Brunswick united; but their jealousy destroyed their co-operation. Generals Hoche and Pichegru were ordered by the convention to attack the united forces; and with a numerous army they defeated them at Wörth and Froschweiler, and compelled them to retreat beyond the Rhine, the left bank of which was thus lost to Germany. Brunswick resigned his command to Möllendorf, who distinguished himself at Kaiserslautern by defeating the French May 25th, 1794.

The emperor had watched the progress of his troops with mingled hopes and fears. He clearly discerned the fatal consequences of the indecision and disunion among the allies, and in the spring of 1794 he visited the Netherlands with the intention of heading his troops, and leading them to Paris. The favourable opportunity, however, had now passed; the French had wisely employed the interval in creating large armies; and the defection of the Prussians caused Francis to be suspicious of his rear. The Austrians, animated with the presence of their king, were victorious in their first attempts; Catillon witnessed the defeat of the French; and Landrecis fell into their hands, chiefly by the brilliant charge of the Archduke Charles at the head of the cavalry, which threw the enemy into confusion. The French rallied; and having received large reinforcements, stopped the career of Francis. Clairfait was attacked by Pichegru near Courtray; and being unsupported by the British, was forced to yield to superior numbers. Coburg was opposed by the same general near Tournay, where a long and bloody engagement took place which lasted eight hours. The number of the French enabled the general constantly to bring up fresh troops to withstand the Austrians. Deeds of daring and of heroic resistance were conspicuous; twenty thousand were stretched on the battle-field; yet the day was left

undecided. The emperor was discouraged by the resistance of the French, the coldness of the Dutch, and the inactivity of the English; and after many ineffectual attempts to rally the allies, he retired to Vienna. The Austrian troops were greatly disappointed by his departure; while the French were animated with national enthusiasm. Jourdan, the favourite republican general, defeated the Duke of Coburg at Fleurus; and Pichegru conquered the Duke of York at Breda. The Netherlands were pillaged by the French, the fortresses razed, the cities plundered, the republican government established, and in 1795 Belgium was annexed to France. Holland was invaded in the depth of winter, the frozen rivers and canals were speedily passed, the allied troops were driven back, the Dutch were subdued, and Holland was transformed into a Batavian republic, in which everything was arranged after the French model. The land was mercilessly drained of its wealth and its treasures, and groaned under the heavy taxes.

The French had not forgotten the more distant parts of Austria. The Spanish and Portuguese encountered the republican arms across the Pyrenees; the Italian princes invaded the Alpine frontiers; but in Sardinia the French captured Nice at the close of 1792. The Piedmontese were supported by Austrian troops, and kept the French army in check, though no decided engagement took place; but in 1794 the French defeated them, and became masters of the Alpine passes. The next year they were driven from them by the Austrians; but rallying their forces, they closed the campaign with a splendid victory over the Austrians at Loano, which was gained by Massena Nov. 23.

The principal reason for the inactivity of the Prussians was the desire of the king to arrange with Russia the second partition of Poland. While Austria and Prussia were engaged with France, Catherine sent her forces into Poland, declared the constitution, which Frederick William had given to the country, null and void, and took possession of the kingdom. The king hesitated between two modes of action. He feared the ascendancy of Austria on the Rhine, and of Catherine in Poland. He entered into a negotiation with the queen, and stipulated for a considerable share of the spoil as the price of his non-interference. The combined troops instantly took possession of the provinces they claimed. The Poles were aroused by Kosciuszko, who armed his countrymen with scythes, and attempted to restore their ancient constitution and freedom. The hero, however, was defeated by the Russian general Suwarof and taken prisoner, and the scythemen were cut down by the regular troops. Praga and Warsaw were carried by storm, and 18,000 of the inhabitants of every age and sex were put to the sword. Russia took possession of the whole of Lithuania and Volhynia, as far as the Riemien and the Bug; Prussia of the whole country west of the Riemien, including Warsaw; Austria of the whole country south of the Bug; and Courland an ancient Polish fief was incorporated with the Russian empire. The consequences of the iniquitous conduct of Prussia were to be experienced for a long period. Had she warmly united with the allies, and energetically carried on the war,

no doubt the revolutionary principles, if not crushed, would have been confined to France, and Europe would have been spared the desolating ravages of Napoleon. Had she assisted the Poles in their struggle with Russia, she would have preserved a barrier to Russian encroachment, and won the gratitude of an energetic people. She, however, basely betrayed the Poles, deserted the allies, and concluded April 5 1795, a treaty with the republic at Basle, by which she confirmed the French in the possession of the left bank of the Rhine. Spain and Portugal also made peace with France; but Austria still continued the war. Mannheim fell by treachery into the hands of the French, before Wurmser could advance to its relief; but on his arrival he attacked the French forces, and captured general Oudinot; while his lieutenant cut to pieces a French detachment and saved Heidelberg. Clairfait also quickly marched towards Mentz, which was besieged by the French, and in a brilliant charge carried off 138 pieces of heavy artillery. Pichegru, who had been called from Holland to take the command in the Upper Rhine, was driven back to the Vosges; and Moreau was also defeated by the Austrians at Kreuznach, and again at Meissenheim. Mannheim capitulated to the imperialists; and as the season was far advanced, the troops on each side retired to their winter quarters.

The scene of the French republican drama had now changed. Parties and factions had succeeded each other with great rapidity. The Girondists, who had risen by the demolition of royalty, were cast down by the Jacobins, headed by Robespierre, Danton and Marat. The reign of terror triumphed for a time; but at length the three tyrants fell by the hands of insulted justice, and a new constitution was given to the unhappy country. The violent party in Paris rose against it; but fortunately there was one man present capable of resisting the 30,000 national guards. It was Napoleon Bonaparte. He had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon, and had gained the reputation of a great military officer. To him was intrusted the defence of the Tuileries, where the convention was sitting; and by his decision and skill, he completely quelled the insurrection in Paris.

The campaign of 1796 was confined to Germany and Italy. The Archduke Charles commanded the Austrians on the Rhine, where May passed before operations were commenced. Jourdan, after some trifling successes, was forced by Charles to recross the Rhine. Moreau passed the Upper Rhine at Strasburg, defeated the several detachments sent to oppose him, reduced the Swabian circle, and levied a heavy contribution. Favoured by this diversion, Jourdan bombarded Frankfort, pillaged it, and filled the surrounding country with distress by the lawlessness of his soldiers. Charles was unable to resist the two French armies; he therefore sent Wartensleben against Jourdan, and retreated into Bavaria to draw Moreau after him. Leaving general Latour with a small force to keep him in check at Rain on the Lech, he suddenly recrossed the Danube with the flower of his army, surprised Jourdan at Amberg where the French lost 4,000 men, and completely routed the army at Wurtzburg. The exasperated peasantry rose, and cut down the fugitives



in their retreat. Moreau meanwhile was hastening towards Munich, which he drained of its treasures; and contemplated a visit to Vienna, when the tidings reached him of the defeat of Jourdan. He instantly sounded a retreat, which he executed with masterly skill. He defeated the corps of Latour, led the main body of his army through the terrific gorges of the Black Forest, notwithstanding the harassing attacks of the peasantry, escaped the vigilance of Charles, and accomplished his difficult passage across the Rhine with little loss.

The French campaign in Italy was conducted by Bonaparte; the Austrian by Beaulieu. The genius of Bonaparte was assisted by the incapacity of the Austrian general, who was past service; but his troops were inferior in number and condition. In April he attacked the lines of the allies, defeated the Austrians at Montenotte, Millesimo, and Dego, and opened up the road into the plains of North Italy. He then suddenly turned against the Piedmontese, defeated Colli in several engagements, and exposed the country to his ravages. The court of Turin became alarmed, and concluded a truce with Bonaparte; which was speedily ripened into a treaty with the French Directory, and enabled Napoleon to turn his whole attention to Austria. He tracked out the remains of Beaulieu's army beyond the Po, and defeated it at Fombio; then advancing towards the castle of Milan, he stormed the bridge of Lodi, which the Austrians had defended with artillery. The carnage was fearful; but the daring bravery of Bonaparte and his grenadiers carried it; and he triumphantly entered into the capital of Lombardy. Mantua alone held out; and Beaulieu retired to the Tyrol, and made great preparations to defend the last stronghold. Wurmser hastened from the Rhine with 33,000 Austrians; but he foolishly divided his forces into two companies, which were successively defeated by Bonaparte. He entered Mantua, after Napoleon had raised the siege to attack the second in command general Quasdanowich, whom he drove to the mountains. Wurmser destroyed the French works, and hastened after Napoleon; but he was defeated at Castiglione, and again at Medola, and retreated to the Tyrol. Having received reinforcements, he again divided his army and issued forth; but he was followed by the French general, and defeated at Bassano; and with 16,000 men he had to cut his way through the French troops, followed day and night by Napoleon, and to shut himself up in Mantua. A third Austrian army was sent into the field under Alvinzi to unite the troops near Verona for the relief of Mantua. Bonaparte was placed in a most perilous situation. He failed to break the Austrian lines at Caldiero, where he suffered great loss; and resolved to attack their flank at Arcole. A terrible struggle ensued which lasted three days, where Bonaparte lost nearly all his general officers. Alvinzi retired to Vicenza, and after collecting reinforcements again encountered the French at Rivoli Jan. 14, 1797; but was defeated with the loss of 20,000 men. Provera, who was hastening with 5,000 men to the aid of Wurmser, was compelled to surrender to the French. Mantua had been reduced to the last extremity; the supply even of

horseflesh was nearly exhausted; and when further resistance was useless, Wurmser capitulated; and the French became masters of Italy, Jan. 28, 1797.

While Bonaparte was exacting a heavy contribution from the pope, as the sole condition of his pontifical existence, Austria exerted her utmost to retrieve her affairs in Italy. The Archduke Charles was recalled from the Rhine to oppose the great general, who resolved to cross the Alps, advance to Vienna, and dictate terms of peace under the walls of the city. The Austrian troops consisted of raw recruits, mingled with the wretched remnants of the defeated armies; while the French were composed of veterans, who had seen distinguished service. Bonaparte crossed the Tagliamento, and routed the imperialists; and pushed on Massena to the pass of Tarvis, where the archduke was posted. The conflict, called "The Battle above the Clouds," was long and bloody; and Charles with a few veterans defended the pass for some time, with the determined courage of Leonidas, against 16,000 French. The Alps, however, were passed; the French under Joubert burst into the Tyrol; and Bonaparte established his head-quarters at Klagenfurth. His position was one of great peril. The natives were hostile, and frequently rose against his licentious soldiers. Discontent was brooding in his rear; and every step he took carried him further from his resources and nearer those of the enemy. He addressed a note to Charles offering on the plea of humanity to conclude terms of peace. It was referred to the cabinet at Vienna, which was in the greatest consternation. The whole neighbourhood was in arms; the citizens anticipated a terrible siege; but the peace party was numerous and powerful. Napoleon still advanced towards the city; and the court, fearing the impetuosity of the general, signed the preliminaries of peace at Lesben on the 18th of April; and on the 17th of October, 1797, the treaty of Campo Formio was concluded. The emperor ceded to France Flanders, the line of the Rhine, and the Lombard provinces which were created into the Cisalpine Republic; and France gave in return the territory of Venice, which Napoleon had first roused to insurrection, and then conquered by the terror of his name, also the archbishopric of Salzburg, and a part of Bavaria. The exchange was by no means disadvantageous to Austria; the population of her territories remained the same; and the provinces gained were nearly equal in riches to those lost, while they possessed the advantage of being contiguous to the hereditary dominions. These concessions were doubtless made to increase the jealousy of Prussia against Austria; as a secret article stipulated that no acquisition should be proposed to the advantage of Prussia. Frederick William, however, boldly took possession of the imperial free town of Nuremberg, and extended his dominions in Franconia and Westphalia, notwithstanding the feeble remonstrance of the imperial diet. The cession of Venice, which had maintained her independence for fourteen hundred years, gave great offence to the French Republic, which desired the prize; but Napoleon vindicated his policy by saying, "I have merely lent Venice to the emperor, he

will not keep her long." The transaction remains a stain upon all who were engaged in it; "and it is difficult," says Alison, "to say whether the most indignation is to be felt at the perfidy of France, the cupidity of Austria, the weakness of the Venetian aristocracy, or the insanity of the Venetian people."

The treaty of Campo Formio could not be regarded by the contracting parties as anything more than a temporary cessation of hostilities. The views and principles of each were opposed; and the events which were transpiring around showed to Austria the incompatibility of an alliance with France. Switzerland was pillaged, and the free cantons converted into a Helvetic republic. The peasantry had been oppressed by the aristocracy, and groaned under their bondage. They turned to the French, as the nobles turned to Austria, for assistance. The French entered their country, and subdued their oppressors; but their ravages provoked the resistance of the peasantry, which was not subdued till Marshal Soult had swept over the country with a large force. The great barrier, which had protected the Austrian frontier nearest to France, was thus thrown down. French influence was very powerful in Italy; and except in Venice and Naples, the republican governments were actively engaged. A general feeling of repugnance, however, towards France was spreading throughout Austria. She became alarmed at the encroachments of the republic, and at the brilliant achievements of Bonaparte in Egypt, and formed a coalition with England and Russia. The domineering spirit of the French at Rastadt, where a congress was assembled to settle the affairs of the German princes, who were compensated for loss of territory by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property, increased the disaffection towards France. A popular tumult broke out in Vienna; the palace of Bernadotte, the French ambassador, was assailed; and the tricolour banner was torn down, and publicly burnt. A murderous assault was made on the French ambassadors at Rastadt. On the renewal of hostilities, they quitted Rastadt, and were intercepted by Austrian hussars in a wood. Two were barbarously mutilated, and the third escaped, though dangerously wounded, April 28, 1799. The Austrian court was anxious to obtain the whole of Bavaria; but as the elector was unfavourable to the cession, Thugut and Lehrback, the chief in the council, wished to implicate him with France; and rashly imagined that the ambassadors possessed the necessary documents. They, therefore, ordered their assassination, but were disappointed in their expectations; for no papers were discovered.

War had already commenced. Russian troops occupied the Ionian Isles; and Suwarof united with the Austrians to restore Italy to the emperor. The archduke Charles proposed the invasion of France from Swabia, but the cabinet preferred Switzerland; which was invaded by general Auffenberg. Massena vigorously opposed him, and drove him from the Grisons. Jourdan burst into Swabia, but was defeated by Charles at Ostrach, and Stochach, and would have been annihilated had not the Aulic council foolishly interfered with the plans of the general. The Grisons were again

invaded by Hotze the Austrian general, who defended his posts amid the snowy regions with the greatest bravery; and in June the archduke joined him, and by their united forces defeated Massena at Zurich, and drove him to Bremgarten. Haddik the Russian general also seized the steep mountain passes of St. Gothard. The soldiers suffered severely in this Alpine campaign; the cold was intense; the forced marches were over frozen fields of ice and steep mountains, whither all the provisions had to be convoyed; and numbers fell victims to the severity of the climate and the exhaustion of nature.

In Italy the French were assailed on all sides, and suffered great losses. On the 5th of April Scherer was defeated by Kray with the loss of 8000 men in the celebrated battle of Magnano; and the arrival of fresh Austrian troops from the Tyrol and Vienna, and of the Russians under Suwarof completely overthrew the power of the French in Italy. They were defeated in several engagements; their general Joubert, was killed in the great battle of Novi; and at length they were driven across the Alps, after suffering terrible disasters. Divisions soon broke out among the allied powers. Suwarof had rendered himself obnoxious to the Austrians, and had awakened the jealousy of England. It was deemed necessary to remove him from Italy; and a fresh plan was drawn out for the prosecution of the war. The brave Russian was ordered to unite his forces with Korsakof in Switzerland, and the archduke to move down the Rhine to co-operate with the English in Holland. Charles in vain remonstrated with the Aulic council, whence the order issued, and pointed out the threatening preparations of Massena.

The French seized the favourable opportunity presented by the indecision of the allies. The passes of St. Gothard were carried by storm, and the Austrians were driven from the adjacent posts. Korsakof was left without support at Zurich; for the archduke had departed, and Suwarof was toiling amid the crags of the Italian Alps. Massena shut him up in the town, when an engagement ensued which lasted two days; and the Russian general was at length obliged to abandon his artillery, and with 10,000 men to force his way through the enemy. Suwarof was pressing on towards the French. He impetuously burst through the passes of St. Gothard, scaled almost impassable rocks, dashed through foaming torrents, led his bare-footed soldiers knee-deep in snow across the pathless mountains, defeated the French who dared to oppose him, and on the 10th of October entered the valley of the Rhine, and terminated this extraordinary march, which had cost him the whole of his artillery, almost all his horses, and one third of his men. The archduke had meanwhile taken Philipsburg and Manheim; but the defeat of the Duke of York by general Brune at Bergen prevented the accomplishment of his plans. He retreated towards the Russian generals, and united with Korsakof and Suwarof. The three leaders passed their time with mutual reproaches; the soldiers were deprived of their supplies by the dishonesty of the purveyors; the czar recalled his troops in disgust and rage; and the French pressed

on the Austrian rear, and defeated it in several skirmishes at Heidelberg and on the Neckar. These disasters, however, were counterbalanced by the splendid victory gained by Melas over the French in their attempt to save Genoa.

The terrible state of France had been privately communicated to Bonaparte in Egypt by his friends; and after the victory of Aboukir, he resolved to set off to Paris. He left Kleber in command, escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers, landed at Toulon, and hastened, amid the acclamation of the people, to the capital. By the aid of Sieyes and Ducos he succeeded in overthrowing the Directory, Nov. 9, establishing a new constitution, and placing himself at the head of the republic with the title of First Consul. Under his vigorous administration, France once more revived; order and prosperity appeared in the country. A general desire for peace was expressed; and in obedience to it he proposed terms to England and Austria, and received with satisfaction the rejection of his proposals. He put an end to the Vendean war by his prudent moderation, and made strenuous efforts to open the campaign with a grand display. He sent Moreau to command the German army, Massena to Italy, and collected an army of reserves apparently at Dijon to co-operate with Massena. Austria renewed her alliance with England, received two millions and a half sterling as a subsidy, and agreed not to conclude a separate peace before Feb. 1, 1801. The Archduke Charles resigned the command of the army to Field Marshal Kray, and was appointed by the emperor governor of Bohemia.

General Moreau crossed the Rhine, and according to a plan concerted with Napoleon, attacked and defeated the Austrians in various engagements, which compelled them to retire over the Danube, and to occupy the intrenched camp at Ulm. The French general attempted to draw them from this position. He defeated an Austrian corps at Hochstadt, laid Swabia and Bavaria under tribute, and cut off the communication of Kray with the Tyrol. Meanwhile the French army in Italy was restored by the energy of Massena, who held Genoa. The city was besieged by the Austrians under Melas, and blockaded by the English under Lord Keith. The watchfires of the enemy blazed around the city; the garrison endured the horrors of famine; and at length June 5, Massena surrendered with 9,000 men, the shattered remains of his fine army. Bonaparte was making strenuous efforts to relieve his general. His operations were conducted with such secrecy that the first tidings of his approach was his presence in Lombardy. He led a powerful force over the Great St. Bernard; his soldiers dragged the guns, placed in hollow fir trees, over the rugged heights; and after a terrible march of four days, he joined his other corps, which had crossed the Simplon and St. Gothard, and fell upon the Austrian flank. The detachments sent out to oppose his progress were defeated; and the two armies met on the plains of Marengo, June 14. For a time the Austrians were successful, and threw the French troops into confusion; and Melas retired from the field

exhausted with fatigue, and rejoicing at his victory. The approach of Desaix arrested the defeat of the French, and the rapid charge of a body of horse tore the victory from the Austrians, and created such a panic among them, that the whole army fled, leaving 7,000 killed and wounded, 3,000 prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. An armistice was concluded next day at Alessandria, and Italy again passed into French hands. The truce was also extended to Germany.

Peace, however, could not be negotiated; and hostilities recommenced in November. Austria made vigorous efforts; 110,000 men were collected on the Inn; the gallant Kray recalled, and the Archduke John a youth of eighteen entrusted with the command. He quitted his position on the Inn, and surprised the army of Moreau when marching, and threw it into confusion. Instead of following up his success, he allowed the general to retreat through the thick forest of Hohenlinden, and await the arrival of the archduke. The Austrians advanced through the woods in three columns, with their artillery and waggons. One column was driven back by the French before the others appeared; and the Austrians, taken by surprise on right, rear, and front, were routed, and left behind them 14,000 men, 300 waggons, and 100 guns. The troops were reduced to such a wretched state, that the Archduke Charles, who was sent to retrieve their fortune, shed tears when he beheld their miserable condition. His efforts to reanimate them were unavailing; the soldiers lost heart; his rear was routed with the loss of 1,200 men; and he obtained from Moreau an armistice at Steyer, when the French were within twenty leagues of Vienna, December 25.

In Italy the Austrians were not more successful. The imperial army occupied a strong position on the Mincio, which was defended by 65,000 men. The French General Brune attacked the Austrians at four points, December 26, and forced them to fall back to the Adige, with a loss of 7,000 men; where fearing the destruction of the whole army, they obtained an armistice on condition of surrendering all the Italian fortresses except Mantua. These disasters which had befallen her troops induced Austria to sue for peace; and on the 9th of February 1801, the treaty of Luneville was signed, based on the terms of the treaty of Campo Formio. Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine were given to France. Modena was annexed to the Cisalpine republic, Tuscany given to the Duke of Parma, and Venice, with the boundary of the Adige, left to Austria. The Archduke Charles embraced the opportunity to propose some beneficial reforms in the war administration; but his wise counsels were unfortunately not adopted. Francis was forced to sign the treaty not only as sovereign of Austria, but as emperor of Germany, without the concurrence of the electors and states, which legally he had no power to do. He wished to receive the consent of the diet first; but Napoleon would not grant the time, and insisted on his immediate signature, and left him to vindicate his assumption of authority as best he could. The diet was aware of his difficult position, and solemnly ratified the treaty of Luneville, because of the extraordinary situation in which he had been placed.

The question of compensation, which had been considered at the congress of Rastadt, was resumed in consequence of the claims of some of the Italian princes; and was finally settled by a decree of the imperial diet February 25, 1803. The three spiritual electorates Mentz, Treves, and Cologne were abolished, and their positions west of the Rhine included them in the French territory. The archbishop of Mentz alone retained his dignity, and was transferred to Ratisbon. The imperial free cities were deprived of their privileges, except six, Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Augsburg and Nuremberg. The unsecularised bishoprics and abbeys were abolished. The petty princes, counts, barons, and the Teutonic Order were allowed to exist for a short period. Compensation was richly dealt out to all, chiefly at the expense of the church. Prussia retained the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, part of Munster, and numerous abbeys and free towns in Westphalia and Thuringia. Bavaria, which had lost the Rhenish Palatinate and the province of the Inn, was amply compensated with bishoprics and several towns. The Austrian family was compensated by Ferdinand, the younger brother of the emperor, receiving in exchange for Tuscany, Salzburg, Eichstadt, and Passau; and Ferdinand of Modena, the emperor's uncle, the Briesgau in exchange for his duchy. The diet was completely influenced by France, when the recess, authorising these compensations, was granted. Prussia for her neutrality gained four times more than she had lost. Bavaria was amply repaid for her trifling assistance to the republic. Austria was very little consulted; and had it not been for the bold military interference of the emperor in seizing the possessions claimed, she would have witnessed their appropriation by other persons.

The sword could not long remain in its scabbard among the French. England and France, though bound by the treaty of Amiens, were sworn foes; and on both sides preparations were secretly made for the outbreak of hostilities. A large army under Ney settled the differences which had sprung up in Switzerland; and Napoleon gave to the Swiss a new constitution, and divided the country into nineteen cantons. England was alarmed at the rapid encroachments of Bonaparte, and declared war against France. He had invaded the territory of Baden to arrest the Duke d'Enghien, whom he shot at Paris without trial; and he also occupied Hanover with his troops. While a grand coalition was being formed against France, Napoleon induced the senate to elect him Emperor of the French, and to make the crown hereditary in his family; and the nation with a few exceptions submitted to his new dignity. To render his coronation more imposing, and to emulate the glory of Charlemagne, the revival of whose empire was the ambitious dream of Bonaparte, the pope was commanded to appear in Paris; and the imperial crowns were placed on the head of Napoleon and his empress amid a blaze of splendour. Europe was astonished; and Austria imitated the example of her great rival. Francis recognised the imperial dignity of Bonaparte, and assumed for himself and his successors in the Austrian dominions the title of Emperor of Austria August 11, 1804.

The spring of 1805 was spent by Napoleon in consolidating his power in the republics connected with France. The Grand Pensionary was revived in Holland; and the title of King of Italy was conferred on Napoleon. He repaired to Milan, and amid the greatest splendour placed the iron crown of Lombardy upon his head, pronouncing the traditionary formula "God gave it me; woe to him who touches it." The ambitious strides of the emperor awakened the indignant fears of England and Austria. An alliance was formed April 11 between England and Russia; and in a few weeks after Austria and Sweden joined the coalition, on receiving large subsidies of British gold. Prussia retained her neutrality in the hope of gaining Hanover; and Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria sided with France. Napoleon projected a descent on England, and assembled a numerous army at Boulogne, and an immense number of gunboats, and armed vessels. The splendid victory of Nelson off Trafalgar, which crushed the French and Spanish fleets, averted the danger from the British shores; and the Danube and Italy became the arena of the conflict.

Austria rashly crossed the Inn, entered Bavaria, and took post near the Black Forest, before the Russians, who were refused a passage through Prussia, could arrive. Napoleon determined to crush the Austrians before their allies could unite with them. The camp of Boulogne marched quickly to the Rhine; Bernadotte, who was in Hanover, was ordered to cross the Prussian territory even without asking permission, and unite with the Bavarians in the rear; and other corps were directed to attack the Austrian flanks. On the 13th of October Soult defeated the imperialists at Memmingen, where 4,000 laid down their arms; and on the 14th Ney attacked their outposts at Elchingen, and completely surrounded the Austrian army. The Archduke Ferdinand succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy with a portion of the cavalry; but General Mack was forced to surrender himself at Ulm on the 20th with 60,000 Austrians. Napoleon could scarcely spare a sufficient number of men to escort this enormous crowd of prisoners to France. General Wernek, who had been detached from Ulm, was also compelled to surrender at Trochtelfingen with 8,000 men. Mack was tried by court martial for betraying the army to the French, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment; but there does not appear to be any evidence to convict him of greater crimes than irresolution, and incapacity to cope with Napoleon.

The disasters which befell the troops of Austria arose chiefly from the direction of affairs by the Aulic council, whose orders the generals were implicitly to obey. While Mack was sent with 80,000 men to oppose twice that number in Germany, the Archduke Charles was ordered to remain on the defensive in the presence of a very inferior force; and 20,000 men were retained in the Tyrol in useless inactivity with no enemy to oppose them. Napoleon marched straight on to Vienna, and sent Ney to the Tyrol against the peasantry, who rose under the Archduke John. After a struggle of three weeks the imperialists were driven from that province by Ney and the Bavarians;



the divisions of Jellachich and Prince Rohan, together about 11,000 men, were taken prisoners; Kuffstein capitulated; and Innspruck, with all its arsenals, was captured. The Archduke John retreated into Carinthia to form a junction with Charles, who after defeating Massena at Caldiero, had hastened from Italy to defend the capital of Austria. Napoleon took up his head-quarters at Lintz, where he received Count Gyulai, who proposed an armistice, which was prevented by the exorbitant terms of the French general. The French emperor was threatened with a new enemy in the King of Prussia. The violation of his territory by Bernadotte created a profound sensation in Berlin; the Emperor Alexander of Russia visited the king and urged him to adopt a manly course, and oppose the advance of the ambitious despot; and Duroc the French ambassador was dismissed. A convention was signed between the two monarchs, by which they pledged themselves to abide by the treaty of Luneville; and Hangwitz was despatched to notify the fact to Napoleon, and to renew the friendship with France on his acceptance of it, but to threaten hostilities in case of a refusal. Before, however, the appointed day arrived, a great change in affairs had taken place. Napoleon pressed forward with nearly 100,000 men; and the only force which existed between him and Vienna was about 65,000 men, including the Russians under Kutusof. Several severe struggles took place between the advanced French guard, and the Russian rear; and Kutusof withdrew his whole force to the left bank of the Danube, and broke down the bridge at Mautern, the only one which crossed the stream between Lintz and Vienna. The advanced guard under Murat exposed the next corps under Mortier to the attacks of the Russians, who nearly annihilated his troops, and disconcerted the plans of Napoleon. Vienna, however, was destined to fall. Francis and his court fled; the city bridge, which had been suffered to remain, was seized by stratagem; and Napoleon established his residence at the imperial palace of Schönbrunn, and levied enormous contributions on the inhabitants. His situation, however, was daily becoming more critical. The Russians concentrated their forces in Moravia; the archduke was rapidly advancing from Italy; the Hungarians were rising *en masse*; Prussia was threatening the Rhine; the British and Hanoverian force was at Bremen; 10,000 Swedes were in Hanover; and the Prince of Hesse Cassel was ready for action. Napoleon determined to strike a decisive blow before the confederates could unite. He selected the field of Austerlitz as the scene of action, and made his dispositions with his accustomed sagacity. He beheld with satisfaction the Russian general falling into the snare he had craftily laid, and exclaimed, "Before to-morrow night that army is mine." He was not deceived. The sun rose on the 2nd of December, 1805, and shone brilliantly on the assembled troops. The French right wavered before the rapid onset of the Russians; but the impetuous attacks of Soult and Rapp broke the enemy's lines, and threw the army into confusion.

The victory is justly regarded as one of the most celebrated which the genius of Napoleon secured; but the imperialists were so

prostrated, and Napoleon was so embarrassed that a treaty was signed at Presburg December 26th. Austria purchased peace by a great sacrifice. Bavaria gained the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, and Lindau, Burgau, Passau, Eichstadt, Trent and Brixen, besides several lordships, and was formed into a kingdom. Wirtemberg also became a kingdom, and gained the adjacent Austrian territories in Swabia. Baden received the Breisgau, the Ortenau and Constance; and Napoleon added the Venetian territory, Dalmatia, and Albania to his Italian possessions. Austria had to pay a war contribution of four millions sterling. Napoleon soon after withdrew his troops, and passed in a triumphal procession to Paris, everywhere greeted with the acclamation of the people; and the emperor Francis shortly after the peace returned to his capital, and received a hearty welcome from those whom he had forsaken in the time of danger.

Napoleon carried out another step towards accomplishing his splendid dreams of conquest and glory. He surrounded himself with kingdoms and crowned heads, who were to acknowledge his supremacy and claim his protection. He appointed his brother Joseph king of Naples, his brother Louis king of Holland, and allied his family to the daughters of the houses of Bavaria, Wirtemberg and Baden. All the new princes were his vassals, and acknowledged his authority. "On the 12th of July 1806, sixteen princes of Western Germany concluded, under Napoleon's direction, a treaty, according to which they separated themselves from the German empire, and founded the so-called Rhenish alliance, which it was their intention to render subject to the supremacy of the Emperor of the French. On the 1st. of August, Napoleon declared that he no longer recognised the empire of Germany! No one ventured to oppose his omnipotent voice. On the 6th of August 1806, the emperor Francis II. abdicated the imperial crown of Germany, and announced the dissolution of the empire in a touching address, full of calm dignity and sorrow. The last of the German emperors had shown himself throughout the contest, worthy of his great ancestors, and had, almost alone, sacrificed all in order to preserve the honour of Germany, until, abandoned by the greater part of the German princes, he was compelled to yield to a power superior to his. The fall of the empire that had stood the storms of a thousand years was, however, not without dignity. A meaner hand might have levelled the decayed fabric with the dust; but fate, that seemed to honour even the faded majesty of the ancient Cæsars, selected Napoleon as the executioner of her decrees. The standard of Charlemagne, the greatest hero of the first Christian age, was to be profaned by no hand save that of the greatest hero of modern times. Ancient names, long venerated, disappear. The holy Roman German emperor passes into an Emperor of Austria, the electors into kings or grand dukes, all of whom enjoy unlimited sovereign power, and are free from subjection to the supremacy of the emperor."\*

\* Menzel's Germany, § ccliii.

## CHAPTER XXII.

FRANCIS I. (EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.) A.D. 1806-1835.

THE Rhenish confederation greatly promoted the influence and resources of Napoleon, as each state had to furnish a contingent to assist him in his wars. His name was flattered by poets and historians, and he proudly trampled on the liberties of the people, and the authority of the sovereigns of Europe. Prussia patiently endured his insults until the heroic queen stirred up the people, and forced the king to declare war, into which he rushed with precipitate haste, and paid by the disasters which followed the defeat at Jena, the penalty for his desertion of Austria at a time when his powerful hussars would have rolled back the tide of invasion, and placed a limit to the designs of Bonaparte. Austria could not be persuaded to break up her neutrality; and while Napoleon was aggrandising his family by raising his brother Jerome to the dignity of King of Westphalia, his brother Joseph from Naples to the Spanish throne, and Murat to the throne of Naples the court of Vienna was preparing to shake off the French yoke from the German people. During 1806 and 1807 the war department was silently replenishing the arsenals and magazines, the cavalry were remounted, and the infantry remodelled after the French system. On the 8th of June 1808, a decree was issued instituting the Landwehr or militia, which was at first fixed at 200,000 men, but was soon after raised to 300,000 men for the hereditary dominions alone; and in Hungary the regular army was increased, and the *insurrection* or extra levy of 80,000 men called out.

The suspicions of Napoleon were aroused; and though lulled for a time by the representations of Prince Metternich then ambassadors at Paris, he was soon made aware of the hostile intentions of Austria, returned in haste to Paris, called on the Rhenish princes for their contingents, and flattered them with expressions of his confidence. "No Frenchman" he exclaimed "is among you; you alone shall beat the Austrians." After vigorous preparations on both sides, Austria, April 8th, 1809, sent her armies into the field. The command was entrusted to princes of the royal blood; Charles set off for the Rhine, John for Italy, Ferdinand for Poland. No ally came to her aid; Prussia was neutral, Russia allied to France, England unable to help her on land though powerful by sea. A spirited address was issued to the people to rise, and throw off the despotism of France. "Germans, awake! shake off your death-like slumber in the arms of infamy!" Charles was crippled by the conflicting orders from Vienna, and was commanded against his advice, to advance on Bavaria. Napoleon in April 1809 led the Rhenish troops against the Austrians; but his line was so extended, that had the archduke

pressed forward, he might have inflicted severe loss on the enemy, and perhaps have driven him from the territory. Both armies had imprudently divided, but Napoleon repaired the faults committed by his general Berthier by a series of brilliant engagements; and in five successive days, from the 19th to the 24th of April, he gained complete victories over the Austrians at Thaur, Abensberg, Landshut, Eckmühl, and Ratisbon, where he received a musket shot in his foot, which created great consternation among his soldiers.

His arms, however, in other quarters were not so triumphant. General Hiller was forced to abandon Linz to the French, but in his retreat he suddenly turned on the Bavarians and French who were in pursuit, defeated them, captured three French eagles, and then crossed the Danube to effect a junction with Charles, who had retired into Bohemia to collect reinforcements, and save the capital. The Tyrol peasantry rose and expelled the foreigners, except the Bavarian garrison of Kufstein. In Italy the archduke John defeated the viceroy Eugene at Sacile April 16th, with the loss of 4000 killed, 4000 prisoners and 15 guns; but the advance of Napoleon on Vienna caused him to retreat followed by Eugene, who defeated him on the Piave. He then retired to Carinthia, when Charles entreated him to move on to Linz to cut off the communications of the French in the rear, and to co-operate with the Tyrolese. With the 50,000 men at his disposal he might have created a powerful diversion, drawn the attention of Napoleon from Vienna, and placed him in a perilous situation; but the archduke disobeyed his orders, and marched into Hungary.

Meanwhile Napoleon was rapidly advancing towards Vienna; the bridge of Ebersberg, defended by Hiller, was carried after a terrible struggle; the islands of the Danube were stormed; and a vigorous bombardment commenced, which soon fired the city in various places. The troops perceived the futility of resistance and retired; the authorities capitulated; and the French entered Vienna the second time, May 13. The Archduke Charles designed to arrive before Vienna in time to engage the French army under its walls, and save the city; but his march from Bohemia had been retarded; and when he arrived on the banks of the Danube, he beheld the army of Napoleon stationed on the other side of the stream. Napoleon perceived the danger of his position, and took immediate steps to preserve his retreat after he had attacked the hostile force on the other side. He secured the island of Lobau as a mustering point, from which he threw across a bridge of boats to the Marchfeld. Charles allowed him to finish his preparations, and awaited his foe with confidence in his own position, which was well chosen on the woody heights of the Bisamberg. Massena took up his position at the village of Aspern; and Charles resolved to attack him at once, before the remaining troops, which were unable to cross because of a rise in the stream, could be conveyed from Lobau. The conflict was terrible; 80,000 Austrians, including 14,000 splendid cavalry, and 288 guns attacked the French. Aspern was carried after a dreadful slaughter; but Lannes retained possession of Essling during

the night, while some fresh troops crossed the stream. The next day May 22, Napoleon had 70,000 men to renew the combat. Lannes rushed with his fiery valour, and created a huge gap in the Austrian centre; the ranks wavered; Charles dashed into the midst, and led them against the enemy; the dragoons drove back the corps of Lannes; and the splendid charge of the Hungarian grenadiers completed the rout of the French. They fled to the island of Lobau with the loss of 35,000 men and their brave general Lannes, who was shot when resisting an attack on the bridge. The situation of Napoleon was now desperate; his bridge of boats, connecting the island with the opposite shore, was destroyed; and for two days he was cooped up in the island, without provisions and ammunition. A fresh bridge was then formed; and the two armies remained for six weeks watching each other on the opposite banks of the Danube.

Eugene meanwhile had followed the Archduke John from Italy, defeated the division of Jellachich in the valley of the Muhr, and joined Napoleon at Vienna May 28. John had united his forces with those of the Hungarian insurrection under his brother the Palatine, and Eugene was dispatched by Napoleon to prevent their junction with Charles. A battle was fought on the Raab June 14, in which the archduke was defeated with the loss of 6,000 men; and the Hungarians retired to Komorn, and John to Presburg. In the north, the Archduke Ferdinand, who had advanced as far as Warsaw, was driven back by the Poles under Poniatowsky, and the Russian auxiliaries, to defend Galicia which was threatened. The Tyrolese still nobly defended their country against the invaders. The French under Lefebvre and the Bavarians under Deroy invaded the province, defeated the heroic bands, and entered Innspruck. The peasants rose under their gallant leader Hofer, and drove the Bavarians from the country with the loss of 4,000 men; and in a short time the French were expelled from the Tyrol, and 17,000 of the Austrian prisoners released.

The great point of attraction for the eyes of the whole world was the banks of the Danube, where the two illustrious generals were still posted. Napoleon covered Lobau with gigantic works, formed massive bridges across to the islands, and called in his reinforcements. He deceived the Austrians by a feint attack near Aspern, and crossed the stream lower down. The Austrians abandoned their intrenchments, now useless, and took up a strong position on the field of Wagram. The battle commenced July 5, and lasted two days. Napoleon was greatly superior in numbers, and commenced the attack with his centre 100,000 strong, while Eugene ascended the heights. The Austrians behaved with the greatest bravery; their gallant leader roused them by his presence; and they threw the French army into confusion at the close of the day. Charles renewed the contest next morning, and anxiously expected the arrival of John from Presburg. The Saxons in the French centre broke, and were alone arrested in their flight by Napoleon and his guard; the French left was swept by the Austrian guns, and driven to the Danube; and from all sides the cry arose "The bridge! the bridge!" At this

critical period the corps of Davoust drove in the Austrian left; and the centre headed by Napoleon advanced amid a shower of cannonballs. To halt was to die; to retreat was impossible. The archduke saw the determination of Napoleon, and sounded a retreat, which was executed with such dexterity that the French emperor bitterly exclaimed after the battle, "No results! neither prisoners nor guns." The loss on each side was great, amounting each to 25,000 killed and wounded. Two hours after the conflict, the columns of John appeared; but they were now useless, and they returned to Presburg. Had they arrived earlier, the defeat of Napoleon would have been inevitable.

Charles retreated into Bohemia, and took up his position at Znaym, where he routed with great slaughter the French troops who attempted to dislodge him, July 11. An armistice was proclaimed, which was followed after a long and painful negotiation, by the peace of Vienna October 14. Austria purchased peace by the cession of territories containing 32,000 square miles and three million and a half souls. Carniola, Trieste, Croatia, and Dalmatia were given to Napoleon; Salzburg Berchtoldsgaden, the Innviertel and the Hausrukviertel to Bavaria, who also retained the Tyrol; a part of Galicia to the grand duchy of Warsaw, and part to Russia. The army was to be reduced to 150,000 men, and a war contribution of thirteen millions levied on the provinces. Napoleon before he left blew up the ancient ramparts of Vienna; an act of tyranny which greatly exasperated the citizens.

The Tyrolese were highly incensed at the conduct of Francis, who had promised that he would conclude no treaty which did not secure to him the possession of the Tyrol, and they refused to acknowledge Bavaria their lord. When the Austrian soldiers quitted the country, Lefebvre re-entered Innsbruck with 20,000 men. The patriotic leaders met, and swore to defend their country with their lives; and the unquenchable spirit of freedom animated the people. A Bavarian corps was defeated at the bridge of Laditch; Lefebvre was routed with great loss on the Brenner; and a decisive battle was fought near Innsbruck in which the French lost 6,000 men. Lefebvre evacuated the Tyrol; and Hofer entered Innsbruck in triumph, and became the civil and military commander of the country. The bright days of rejoicing were soon clouded. The Tyrol was invaded in October by three armies on the side of Bavaria, Carinthia and Italy; and seeing that resistance was useless, Hofer recommended the people to submit. They refused to yield; and issuing from their mountain fastnesses, they greatly harassed the troops when passing through long defiles. They were, however, forced to surrender; winter drove them into the plains; the chiefs fled from their country; and they gradually laid down their arms. Hofer alone refused either to submit or to fly, and was betrayed to the French; who carried him to Mantua, where he was shot by order of Napoleon.

Soon after the treaty of Vienna, Count Metternich became minister for foreign affairs, and the leader in the Austrian cabinet. Napoleon, though extending his power and consolidating his supre-

macy in all directions, still felt the importance of descent and ancestry, in which he was deficient. His empress Josephine had not given him an heir to his vast empire, and for some time past he meditated a divorce. Proposals had been made simultaneously to the courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna; and, a slight opposition arising from the empress-mother of Russia, an alliance was entered into with Austria; and the contract was signed February 15, 1810, between Napoleon and the archduchess Maria Louisa. Josephine retained the title of empress, and retired to Malmaison with a pension; and on the 1st of April the marriage was celebrated at St. Cloud with the greatest splendour. The royal pair visited the Netherlands; and on their return to Paris, a splendid ball was given by the Austrian ambassador Prince Schwartzemberg, when a fire broke out during the festivity. Several persons were injured by the flames and falling timbers; and among them was the sister-in-law of the ambassador, who rushed into the burning pile to rescue her daughter. In the ensuing year the young empress gave birth to a prince, Napoleon Francis, who was laid in a magnificent silver cradle, and created King of Rome to designate him as heir to the vast dominions of his father.

Just before the birth of the young prince the financial state of Austria reached its crisis. The resources had been completely drained by the demands of war; the country was deluged with paper currency; and the nation reduced to a state of insolvency. The demands could no longer be met; and Count Wallis the finance minister March 15, 1811 reduced the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank paper to two hundred and twelve millions, and the interest upon the whole of the state debts to one half payable in the new paper issue. This fearful state of bankruptcy was accompanied by the fall of many private firms; trade was completely at a standstill; and the contributions demanded by Napoleon could not be realised.

The good understanding, which had hitherto prevailed between the courts of Russia and France, was now broken up; and the two sovereigns, who had intended to partition Europe between them, engaged in deadly strife. Napoleon declared war against Russia in 1812, and assembled an army of half-a-million soldiers to assail her territories, and dictate terms of peace under the walls of Moscow. This vast force was made up of Germans, Italians, Poles and Swiss, and about 200,000 French. Austria, as well as Prussia, was compelled to furnish 30,000 men under Prince Schwartzemberg. The infatuation of Napoleon procured his ruin; for though he reached Moscow, it was but to behold the ruins of the city, whence he was forced to retreat over snowy steppes, and frozen fields, and to leave his soldiers to perish with hunger and cold. Napoleon himself fled for safety through Germany, and arrived by rapid stages at Paris.

On the retreat of the French, the Prussian general York signed a treaty of neutrality with Diebitch the Russian general; and the Austrians were permitted to remain at Warsaw, though Schwartzen-

berg refused to enter into any stipulation respecting their neutrality. The excitement which prevailed in Prussia was very great, and all parties were clamorous for war against France. On the 1st of March 1813 an alliance between Russia and Prussia was signed at Kalisch, and a spirited proclamation issued to the German states. Napoleon created a fresh army of 300,000 men with inconceivable rapidity; and took the field to crush the insurrection against him, which had spread over all northern Germany except Saxony. Negotiations were commenced by the courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg to gain Austria to their side; but the cautious policy of Metternich temporised, lest the influence of Russia should preponderate in Germany. With consummate skill he gained the ascendancy over the allies, and employed flattering language towards them; and at the same he offered his services to Napoleon to mediate a peace. The military resources of the country were also secretly prepared, that he might be ready, when the time had arrived for Austria to act. Hostilities meanwhile began. The French invaded Hamburg and marched to the Baltic; and Napoleon advanced to Dresden, where the czar and the King of Prussia were; defeated the allies, after a terrible conflict, at Lützen; entered Dresden in triumph; and engaged his enemies at Bautzen; whom he defeated after two days' sanguinary fighting, which cost him 20,000 of his troops. Both the combatants were anxious respecting the designs of Austria; and an armistice was concluded at Pleisswitz for six weeks, June 4, 1813.

Austria again renewed her pacific efforts. On the 27th of June she signed a treaty at Reichenbach in Silesia with Prussia and Russia, by which she bound herself to declare war in case Napoleon rejected the terms she was about to propose to him; and the next day Metternich had an interview with the French emperor at Dresden. The conference was long and stormy. Napoleon met with an equal in the wily count, and refused to yield to his demand for the restitution of the French conquests in Germany; and even charged him with being bribed by England to declare war against him. A congress at Prague, however, was agreed upon; but it was merely a subterfuge to deceive the world by an apparent desire for peace. Napoleon was very generous in his concessions, but delayed granting to his ambassador full powers until the termination of the armistice; when the congress was broken up. Austria declared war against France, August 12; and thus passed by the diplomatic skill of Metternich from an alliance with Napoleon, the son-in-law of the Emperor of Austria, to neutrality, from neutrality to mediation, and from mediation to active coalition against him. Her position was advanced above the allies who courted her; the whole of the allied armies were placed under Schwartzberg, an Austrian general; and the Prussian and Russian troops accompanied their respective sovereigns to Prague, where Francis entertained them in a most magnificent manner.

Each party had employed the interval of the armistice in active preparations for the renewal of hostilities. England scattered her gold profusely among the Prussians, Russians, and Swedes; while



her chief force under Wellington was engaged in Spain. Napoleon had concentrated his main body, consisting of 250,000 men, around Dresden. Schwartzberg with a strong army of 190,000 men was to advance through the Hartz mountains to the rear of Napoleon. Blucher with 80,000 was to cover Silesia, or in case of an attack by Napoleon's main army, to retire before it, and draw it further eastward. Bernadotte, who from a French general had become the crown prince of Sweden, was to cover Berlin, and in the event of a victory, to effect a junction with Schwartzberg in the rear of Napoleon. Wallmoden with 30,000 men was to watch the French general Davoust in Hamburg; Prince Reuss with 25,000 the movements of the Bavarians; and Hiller with 40,000 the movements of Eugene in Italy.

On the advance of Blucher, driving before him the French detachments, Napoleon set out from Dresden with the flower of his army to oppose him. Blucher cautiously retired before the French general; and Napoleon soon found out that it was part of a concerted plan by the allies marching towards Dresden, which he had left uncovered. The French commander there retired to the citadel; and on the 26th of August, Schwartzberg stormed the city. He had, however, delayed a day too long. Napoleon poured his breathless troops into the town; and the guards, still warm with their forced march, rushed upon the assailants, and drove them from the gates. The next morning Napoleon attacked the left wing of the allies, which was separated from the main body, easily threw into confusion the raw recruits of which it was composed, and burst upon the rear. The allies retreated; and Napoleon remained master of the field with 13,000 prisoners, and many guns and standards. Vendamme, who had been sent to seize the passes from Saxony to Bohemia, was taken prisoner with the greater part of his corps; and but for that misfortune, Schwartzberg's entire army would have been cut off by the French.

The French were unsuccessful where Napoleon was not present. The gallant army, which he left under Macdonald to retard the operations of Blucher, was defeated on the Katzbach August 26, with an immense loss. Three days before, General Oudinot penetrated to within twelve miles of Berlin, and came suddenly upon the army of Bernadotte; but was forced to retreat with great loss, and to give up his designs against the Prussian capital. He was superseded in his command by Ney; and Bernadotte, aware of the character of his antagonist, concentrated his forces to strike a decisive blow. He came up with the French at Dennewitz, and fought a desperate battle, which terminated in the total rout of Ney. The defeated generals retired towards Dresden; and Napoleon saw the necessity of heading his troops to save his position, which was gradually being enclosed by the allies. The caution of Blucher and Schwartzberg defeated his skilful movements; and Napoleon remained unusually inactive. Blucher crossed the Elbe, joined Bernadotte, and united with the main army. Dresden was almost surrounded; and Napoleon resolved to march towards Berlin, and by a bold stroke

seize the city. The menaces of Austria, however, aroused the fears of the Bavarians, and compelled them to declare against France; by which his retreat across the Rhine was threatened, and he gave orders to march to Leipzig. The allies came up with him on the 16th of October, and a terrible conflict ensued. Napoleon's army numbered 140,000 men; that of the allies 230,000. Blücher attacked the north, and the prince the south; and after a day of incessant fighting, the French were unable to gain any superiority over the allies. Napoleon then offered to evacuate Germany, and retire beyond the Rhine; but no answer was returned to him. The 17th was confined to desultory struggles; but on the 18th, the gigantic conflict was renewed. The earth shook with the furious cannonade; the posts were carried and retaken amid wholesale slaughter; and at night the French retired to the city. The next day Leipzig was stormed; Napoleon fled with great difficulty; and the allies took possession of it. The French lost in three days 60,000 men, and the allies 42,000. Blücher pushed after the retreating army, and greatly harassed it; but the rapidity of the emperor was such that the flying Cossacks were alone able to keep up with the retiring columns. The Bavarians under Wrede blocked up the great road to Mentz; and the decimated army, now reduced to 50,000 men, made a desperate effort to break through, which they effected with great loss to the enemy. Napoleon stayed six days at Mentz, to collect his stragglers, then set out for Paris which he reached November 9. Meanwhile the garrisons left behind gradually surrendered. Dresden, Stettin, Torgau, and Dantzic fell into the hands of the allies; large bodies of French troops became prisoners of war; and nearly all Germany as far as the Rhine was freed from the power of France. In Italy Hiller was successful against Eugene, and wrested the possessions of the old republic from the grasp of Napoleon. Holland rose *en masse* and drove out the French from the garrisons; and the Rhenish confederacy was dissolved.

Towards the close of the year, Europe was leagued against France, and invaded her territory. Bulow marched from Holland, Blücher from Coblenz, Schwartzberg, with the allied sovereigns, from Switzerland, while Wellington, whose victories had driven the French from Spain, poured his veterans from the Pyrenees into the southern plains. Napoleon had made vigorous preparations to resist the invaders. On his return to Paris, he laid before the council a statement of his losses; and by his advice fresh taxes were imposed, and a large army voted. His force, amounting to 200,000 men, was far inferior to that of the allies, which, in all parts, numbered nearly one million men. The allies, however, were divided; the plan of operations was often changed; and conflicting opinions frequently prevented the concert necessary to success. On the 29th of January 1814, Napoleon attacked Blücher, who was posted with 26,000 men at Brienne, where the Prussian general narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; but he was obliged to retire with the loss of 6000 men from La Rothière which was assailed by Blücher. Schwartzberg, who had adopted very lukewarm measures, neglected to advance

rapidly, and divided his troops; and Napoleon relying on the reluctance of Austria to push matters to the extreme, again turned against Blucher, who was marching towards Paris. He defeated his several corps as they appeared, and then turned on the advanced guard of Schwartzberg, and routed it at Nangis, and at Montereau on the 17th and 18th of February. Augereau meanwhile attacked the Austrians in Switzerland, and took post at Geneva in the rear of the allies. The effect of these slight victories was apparent. The allies called in their forces to Troyes, resolved to retreat, and proposed an armistice, which Napoleon flushed with success, refused to grant. A congress had been sitting at Chatillon, where negotiations for peace had been carried on; and the allies were very anxious to secure the terms they had offered; but Napoleon instructed his plenipotentiary to sign nothing, and made use of the conference merely to gain time.

Blucher was furious at the intention of the allies to retreat, and with the consent of the emperor Alexander, he resolved to push on to Paris without them. Being reinforced on the Marne by Winzingerode, he marched his army now amounting to 100,000 men to Craone, where he took up a strong position. Napoleon stormed his post with his accustomed energy, but obtained no decisive results, and in his attack on the Prussian general at Laon, he was routed with a heavy loss. Blucher, however, was greatly distressed for provisions, and was obliged to remain inactive. His example induced Schwartzberg to suspend his retreat, and to advance with cautious steps towards the capital. Napoleon left Marmont and Mortier to oppose Blucher, and having united with Macdonald and Oudinot, came up with the Austrians at Arcis sur Aube, but retreated after an indecisive action, which to him was equivalent to a defeat. He clearly perceived that his efforts against the superior forces of the allies would be unavailing. In Italy the defection of Murat, and the vigour of the English destroyed his influence. In the south, Lyons had been abandoned by Augereau, and Bayonne captured by Wellington, who drove Soult before him to Toulouse, which after a bloody conflict, was taken on the 11th of April.

Napoleon made one desperate effort to retrieve his fortune. The peasantry in Lorraine were exasperated by the ravages of the soldiers, and rose against them; and he designed to occupy the fortresses in the rear of the allies, form a junction with Augereau, and cut off their retreat to the Rhine. An intercepted letter made known his intention; and in a council of war the plan of advancing to Paris, though opposed by some, was warmly adopted. Winzingerode was commissioned to follow Napoleon, and delude him with the idea that the main army was pursuing him, while the allies marched with the utmost enthusiasm towards the capital. They repulsed Marmont and Mortier, who were hastening, by the same road the allies occupied, to join Napoleon; captured Pauthod with a large convoy; and on the 29th of March came in sight of the splendid edifices of Paris. The consternation in the city was very great; the empress, her son, and Joseph ex-king of Spain, retired with waggons laden

with the spoil of Europe; and the people were anxiously waiting in sullen despair the entrance of the conquerors. On the 30th the cannon roared on the surrounding heights, and after a gallant resistance by the French, the heights of Belleville and Montmartre were carried. The cry "Fire on Paris" rose from all sides; and to preserve the city the marshals surrendered. Napoleon made every effort to reach the capital in time to save it; but he arrived at Fontainebleau the morning after the capitulation. The allies entered the city; the sovereigns of Prussia and Russia were received with rapturous applause; but the Emperor of Austria remained at Lyons. Napoleon, deserted by his own marshals, was compelled to sign April 11th, his abdication of the imperial crown, and to withdraw to the Isle of Elba, which was assigned to him as his residence, with a sufficient income to enable him to retain a body-guard of 400 men, and to live in splendour. A solemn decree was passed calling Louis XVIII. to the throne; and on the 4th of May he entered his capital, and mounted the throne of his ancestors; and on the 30th the peace of Paris was signed, by which France was reduced to the same limits as in 1792.

Paris was the scene of the greatest festivities during the time the allied sovereigns occupied it; and before returning to Vienna, where a congress was opened September 25th, the emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and Blücher were magnificently entertained in England. The celebrated congress commenced its sittings to adjust the claims of the several states; and, as might naturally have been expected, the discordant elements threatened to divide the confederates, and to turn their swords against each other. Napoleon's ambition was still insatiated; and he suddenly quitted Elba, landed on the coast of France on the 1st of March 1815, and in three weeks entered Paris in triumph. The allied sovereigns hushed their contentions, and felt that they must again instantly unite against him, or fall under his despotism. They declared him an outlaw, and bound themselves to bring a million men into the field. A large army of English and Germans under Wellington was stationed near Brussels, and a Prussian force under Blücher at Ligny. Napoleon resolved to attack them before the main army under Schwartzberg could be brought up; and on the 14th of June he engaged and defeated Blücher with a great slaughter. Ney, who had encountered Wellington at Quatre Bras, suffered a severe loss, and retired; and Wellington took up a strong position at Waterloo, whither Napoleon followed him, after detaching 31,000 men under Grouchy to observe the Prussians. The decisive battle of the 18th of June, crushed the French army, and destroyed the last hope of Napoleon. The deadly conflict lasted eight hours; the daring charges of the French cuirassiers were hurled back by the solid squares of British infantry; and the splendid advance of the whole of Wellington's army drove the French in disorder before it. Blücher and his iron veterans made gigantic efforts to reach the scene of action; but the difficulty of his march so retarded him, that he did not arrive till the French were retreating. He instantly pursued the fugitives, and cut off very

many. Napoleon fled with such rapidity that he brought the news of his defeat to Paris, and abdicated in favour of his son. The British entered the capital; and Napoleon fled to Malmaison, and attempted to emigrate to America. His designs were frustrated by the vigilance of the English; and he ultimately surrendered himself to Captain Maitland on board the *Bellerophon*. With the concurrence of the other powers, he was conveyed to the island of St. Helena, where on the 5th of May 1821, the proud and daring spirit of the Scourge of Europe departed. The empress Josephine had died before his return from Elba; his consort Maria Louisa was created Duchess of Parma, and her son Duke of Reichstadt, and lived at Vienna with the emperor Francis.

Meanwhile Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law, had atoned for his former desertion in joining the allies after the battle of Leipzig. He created a diversion in favour of Napoleon by advancing against the Austrians in Upper Italy; but was defeated with a heavy loss at Tolentino, and fled to Corsica. The success of the allies prevented his escape to France, and he returned to Italy with the intention of arousing a popular insurrection; but he was seized on landing in Calabria, and was shot by order of a Neapolitan court-martial.

The congress of Vienna renewed its sittings, and at length decided upon the dominions which were to revert to Austria. She received Milan and Venice under the title of a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, the Illyrian provinces, Venetian Dalmatia, the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel, and the part of Galicia given up by her at an early period. The duchies of Tuscany, Modena, Parma and Placentia were restored to the collateral branches of the house of Hapsburg. Thus after twenty-three years of warfare, the Austrian monarchy rose stronger than it was before the outbreak of hostilities. The Netherlands were lost; but the territories gained amply compensated for them, and made the empire more compact and defensible than it was previously. The ancient German empire was not revived, but a Germanic confederation was instituted, composed of thirty-nine states. A perpetual diet, consisting of plenipotentiaries from the several states, was established at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, under the perpetual presidency of Austria.

A great change had passed over the people since the commencement of the revolutionary war. The ideas of the French had taken deep root in the German mind, and, in Prussia and Austria, would have burst forth had not the stern rule of monarchy kept them in abeyance. The manifestoes of Austria and her allies had declared their intention to uphold hereditary monarchy, and to crush revolution; but the progress of Napoleon induced them to change their designs, and to be more anxious to hurl back the spirit of aggression than to check that of "liberty, equality, and fraternity." The people, who beheld their country invaded and their homes desolated, gradually relinquished or suppressed their outcry for freedom in the more urgent desire to be relieved from the presence of so determined a foe as Napoleon. Hence after the peace of Vienna a patriotic enthusiasm burned in the hearts of the nation to advance against the

foe of their fatherland. The fall of the French empire stimulated the allied sovereigns to resist popular outcries, and to maintain intact their absolute authority. Hence the Holy Alliance was established in 1816 between Russia, Austria, and Prussia to uphold that principle; and Prince Metternich laboured with incredible zeal to work out the system which is identified with his name; to preserve the authority of the sovereign, and to deny all claims of the people to participate in it. At the same time it must be remarked that, when the alliance was contracted, profuse promises were given to the people; and Austria declared at the congress of Vienna that "the subjects of every German state under the ancient empire possessed rights against their sovereigns which had of late been disregarded, but that such disregard must be rendered impossible for the future." In the second congress the constitutional rights of the nations were amply discussed; and the result was embodied in the concise 13th article of the confederation viz. "A representative constitution shall be adopted in all the federative states;" though the other articles bound the states to prevent any attempt by the subjects to subvert the existing order of things. The people were dissatisfied when they found that these promises were not fulfilled; the spirit of disaffection and sedition was fostered by secret societies, whose primary object had been to arouse the people to shake off the yoke of the French; and Austria has ever since been threatened with a revolutionary outbreak, which has increased, notwithstanding her extensive police force, and system of espionage, and which can only be kept down by the terror of a large military display. During the remaining years of Francis, his affection for his subjects, and his patient attention to their petitions, prevented the outburst; yet the intelligent observer can detect the working of that revolutionary spirit which at length burst out, and swelled the torrent of popular fury which swept over the nations of Europe in 1848.

Prince Metternich took precautionary measures to guard against its outbreak in the German states. In 1819 a Federative congress was assembled at Vienna to resist the increasing influence of the liberals in the provincial diets; and an act was passed in May 1820, the design of which was to exclude the various provincial diets from interfering in the general affairs of Germany, and to increase the power of the princes over their diets by the guaranteed aid of the confederates. During the sitting of this congress the liberal party in Spain revolted against their king Ferdinand VII.; and their example was followed by the Neapolitans, who were dissatisfied with the conduct of their sovereign. Austria interfered; a congress was held at Laibach in 1821; and the Austrian troops under Frimont entered Italy. The Neapolitans fled without firing a shot; the king returned to his capital; and the Austrians left strong garrisons there and in Sicily. Scarcely was that insurrection quelled, before the Piedmontese broke out, seized the citadel of Turin, and forced the king to abdicate. The Austrians united with the royal troops, routed the insurgents at Novara April 8, and restored the king. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was threatened with a similar catas-

trophe. The Austrian government professed to have discovered dangerous plots; arrests were made; a periodical called the *Conciliatore* was suppressed; and many unfortunate Milanese pined away and died in the dungeons of Spielberg.

In Greece a revolution broke out against the Turks, which was secretly fostered by Russia, who meditated ambitious designs on Constantinople; but the European congress at Verona in 1822 condemned the revolt, though it continued till the fatal battle of Navarino, gained by England France and Russia over the Turkish fleet, and the establishment of the Greek kingdom in 1827. The rise of Greece was regarded with great jealousy by Austria; and her fears were still more aroused by the invasion of Turkey by Russia. In 1828 she united with England in remonstrating with the czar Nicholas respecting his designs on Constantinople; but France expressed her readiness to join Russia, and fall upon the Austrian rear if her troops were sent against the Russians. The treaty of Adrianople in 1829 prevented the active interference of Austria, by which the czar obtained some important concessions; and among them were the right to occupy the mouths of the Danube, the chief Austrian river, and a protectoral authority over Moldavia and Wallachia.

The year 1830 witnessed a general outbreak of the revolutionary spirit. In Paris the Jesuits gained great ascendancy, and overturned the constitution. From the 27th to the 30th of July the wildest confusion prevailed; the people rose in vast masses; the streets were flooded with blood; the King Charles X. was dethroned, and Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, raised to the dignity. It was the signal for the discontented throughout the world to rise. The liberal party attempted to overthrow the despotic rule of Ferdinand in Spain. In England the Duke of Wellington was forced to resign his seal to Earl Grey to carry the Reform Bill. Belgium was separated from Holland, and after great distresses received from the mediating powers, England, Austria, Prussia and Russia, Prince Leopold of Coburg as their king. In the minor states of Germany the cry for popular institutions was raised. The Duke of Brunswick was driven from his territory; the King of Saxony was forced to yield to the fury of the populace; the Prince of Hesse was frightened into acquiescence with the wishes of his subjects; and in other small states the revolutionary spirit was rampant. In Austria it was manifested chiefly in the Italian dominions. The system of espionage had produced distrust in the rulers and the ruled, which was secretly inflicting deep wounds in the hearts of the people. In Lombardy, the presence of 30,000 troops kept down all insurrectionary movements, and maintained the imperial authority. In Modena the people rose in February 1831, and forced the duke to flee to Mantua; in Parma, the archduke and ex-empress Maria Louisa were obliged to quit the state; and in the Papal States the people rose against the temporal sovereignty of the pope. An Austrian army quickly marched to the aid of the distressed sovereigns; the Duke of Modena recovered his capital, and hanged the leaders of

the revolt; Parma was tranquilised by wise concessions of redress; and the Holy See was restored to the pope. As soon, however, as the troops were withdrawn, the insurgents rose in the Papal States January 1832, and the pontiff again invoked the aid of Austria. The Austrians entered Bologna, quelled the revolt, and garrisoned the fortresses. The French on this fresh interposition of Austria, immediately sent a squadron to Ancona, landed troops, and seized the town; and for some time a renewal of the ancient Italian conflicts seemed inevitable, and was alone prevented by the prudence of the pope. He consented to the occupation of the town by the French so long as the Austrians held any place in the country; and the French remained in Ancona, and the Austrians in Bologna and other towns in Romagna till the autumn of 1838.

During the remainder of the reign of Francis no important incident in foreign affairs occurred. Towards the end of 1833 he repaired to München Grätz to meet the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, and was received with great splendour and festivity. The infirmities of age, however, were fast creeping over him; his ceaseless toil and anxiety about state affairs had worn out his frame; and on the 2nd of March 1835, Francis closed his eyes in peace at Vienna, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign.

His character has been well spoken of even by his enemies. In his hereditary dominions he was beloved by all, and regarded as the father of his people. He was kind and easy of access, simple and regular in his habits, most assiduous in business, and correct in his conduct. He was thoroughly conscientious, and deemed it his duty to guard with unbending resolution the authority reposed in him. His great failing was a want of confidence in himself and in those around him; and in order to guard against being misled by his ministers, he made it his duty to become personally acquainted with the details of business. As age came on, this suspicious tendency increased; he toiled still more laboriously, like a chief clerk; the business of the state was retarded; and while the age was marching forwards, the emperor and his prime minister were stationary. Many useful improvements, however, were introduced in the latter part of his reign, which promoted the industry and resources of the empire. Two great steam navigation companies were formed; one sweeping the Danube from Lintz to the Black Sea; and the other, established by Brück called the Austrian Lloyd's, running between Trieste and Egypt, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. Roads and railways were laid down through the country; the railway from Milan to Venice was completed, connecting the city with the main land by the magnificent viaduct across the lagunes; a noble chain bridge crossed the Danube between Pesth and Buda; and a private railway was established from Debreczin to Pesth. The commercial policy of the emperor was that practised by Colbert, which almost entirely prohibited commerce with foreign countries. This policy was partially abandoned by his successor Ferdinand, when in 1838 a treaty was concluded between England and Austria, which opened



up the Danube as far as Galatz to British vessels, and all British ports including Malta and Gibraltar to Austrian ships. Francis greatly promoted national education by establishing elementary schools throughout his dominions, and superintending the working of his plans.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

FERDINAND I. (EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.) A.D. 1835-1848.

FERDINAND, the eldest son of the late emperor, continued the policy of his father. He inherited his zeal for the welfare of his subjects, and his unbending resolution to maintain his authority. His frame, however, was weak and sickly, and prevented him accomplishing the routine of business which had become the habitual occupation of Francis. He therefore committed to Prince Metternich much greater power than he before had, though the emperor was averse to any sweeping changes in the machinery of government, which alone would have enabled it to cope with the spirit of the times.

After he had received the crown of Hungary by signing the usual stipulation, a warm discussion was carried on in the Hungarian diet, whether the new king should be styled Ferdinand I. or Ferdinand V. This distinction was all-important to the freedom of Hungary; and the treatment she had received from the late emperor made her jealous of her independency as a nation. While the French were successful against Austria, the Hungarians nobly sustained their sovereign by votes of men and money; and in return the nobles requested the emperor to mention in the royal speech certain reforms which they wished to effect, without which notice they were not able to discuss them in the diet. He had successively put off their demands, and had drawn largely upon them for succour, which they willingly granted; but after the peace of Paris the clamour for reform became louder. The diet, which the king was bound to assemble every three years, was not convoked; the address of the magnates was not even honoured with a reply; and the king unconstitutionally issued royal edicts to levy imposts, which the officials refused to carry out. Troops were sent into the country to overawe them; but the resistance they met with induced the court of Vienna to give way, and, after an interval of twelve years, to summon a diet. The attempt thus made to subvert the constitution failed; and in 1825 Francis solemnly engaged to observe the fundamental laws of the kingdom, never to levy imposts without the consent of the diet, and to convoke the assembly every three years. The design to consolidate and improve the popular institutions of Hungary created great uneasiness in Austria. She fostered a party

in the diet ; which only made the magnates more strenuous in their determination to maintain intact the independency of the nation. It was, therefore, important, on the accession of Ferdinand, to show that Hungary was a distinct kingdom, and not merely a province of Austria.

On the 6th of September, 1838, the emperor repaired to Milan, where he was invested with the iron crown of Lombardy. A general amnesty was proclaimed to political offenders. Confalonieri, and other Italian prisoners were released ; the pending state trials were quashed ; and the refugees were invited back to their own land, or permitted to reside abroad. This amnesty was doubtless effected by Metternich, who was averse to all harsh measures, and especially to the shedding of blood ; and it is noted as an instance of his compassionate nature, that no political executions took place at his instigation.

The next year Austria was threatened with a war which might have swelled into vast dimensions. In 1839 hostilities commenced between the Sublime Porte and the Pasha of Egypt, whose son Ibrahim wrested Syria from Turkey, overran Asia Minor, and threatened the very existence of the Ottoman empire. The great powers, England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia interfered ; and an Anglo-French fleet swept the Levant to keep the truce which had been agreed upon. The Turkish admiral sailed with his ships to Alexandria, and to avoid the allied navy, placed them in the power of the Pasha. A strong suspicion was entertained that the French government encouraged the Pasha to retain this fleet, which he would otherwise have given up. The other four powers demanded its surrender by a certain day ; and as this was not complied with, they signed a convention on the 15th of July to the exclusion of France. Louis Philippe was greatly enraged, and instructed Guizot his minister, to remonstrate with the confederates. An European war seemed inevitable, and was alone prevented by the energy of the allies. The British fleet was reinforced by a few Austrian ships ; Alexandria and the Syrian ports were blockaded ; and Beyrout was bombarded. The Egyptians suffered great losses, and were everywhere routed ; Acre fell under the heavy cannonade of British war-ships ; Jerusalem once more returned to the Porte ; Mohammed Ali delivered up the Turkish fleet and Syria, and retained possession of Egypt. After a long and tedious negotiation, the treaty of 1841 was signed, and peace was once more preserved.

The various signs of discontent, which had been manifested during the late reign, were becoming stronger and more visible, and ultimately burst out in four quarters of the empire. The Ruthene peasants in Galicia were the first to manifest rebellion. At the congress of Vienna, Cracow, with a district containing a population of 120,000 inhabitants, was erected into an independent republic, and the kingdom of Poland incorporated with the Russian empire. In 1831 an insurrection arose in Poland which terminated in the dispersion of the Poles by Russia, and the establishment of a rigorous government. Cracow then became the focus of conspiracies against

Russia; an army of Russians, Austrians, and Prussians took possession of the city till 1840; when seeing all was apparently tranquil, the Austrians quitted their quarters. The troops had scarcely been withdrawn before the conspiracies of the Poles were renewed with great energy. An insurrection broke out in Galicia in 1846, where the smallness of the Austrian force seemed to promise success. The Polish patriots, however, failed to enlist the sympathies of the people; the object for which they contended was to establish a Polish dominion instead of an Austrian; and the peasants preferred the comparatively mild sway of the Hapsburg to the feudal oppression of the Polish noble. The Austrian general was taken by surprise, and the governor was unprepared for the outbreak; but the peasants rose against the insurgents, slew or took most of them prisoners, burst into the houses of the magnates and searched them; and ranged over the the country, burning, torturing, and deluging the land with blood. The police incited the peasants to their deadly work, by offering a reward of five florins for every suspected person delivered to them; but at length the fury of the marauders was such that order could alone be secured by calling out a large body of Austrian troops. The governor, however, was grateful for the assistance of the people; Szela the leader of the sanguinary bands was thanked and highly rewarded; and the court of Vienna was lulled into the fatal delusion, that the people everywhere were opposed to revolution, and would assist the sovereign in every outbreak. The intrigues of the Poles brought destruction upon Cracow. Austria, Russia, and Prussia took possession of the republic, and announced that its independence was annulled, and that the city and territory were annexed to, and for ever incorporated with, the Austrian monarchy.

The day of vengeance was fast approaching; the atmosphere grew thicker and more oppressive; the storm was gathering on the horizon; and the anxious statesmen were watching for the first flash which would indicate the nature of the coming struggle. It appeared in the Italian quarter. For the last thirty years the power of Austria in Italy had been paramount. She had listened to the cry of distressed sovereigns, and hastened to their assistance, to crush the efforts of the people, and maintain the existing order of things. Her spies had brought to light secret conspiracies, and her troops had pounced upon the patriots before they were aware of their march. Fear was, therefore, combined with hatred, and led the reformers to tremble while they denounced. They changed their tactics; and gradually won over the sovereigns of the states to feel the yoke of Austria, and to grant concessions to the people in opposition to the wishes of the protector of Italy. Charles Albert of Sardinia first broke through the trammels of Austria by assuming the tone of an independent sovereign; and his example was quickly followed by the Duke of Tuscany, the pope, and even the King of Naples. Austria beheld these signs of rebellion against her with alarm; and while the Italians were cautiously deliberating on their plans, she resolved to overawe them by a decisive blow. The pope

July 6 1847 issued a decree for the organisation of a civic guard; and the Austrian garrison in the citadel of Ferrara marched into the town, and took possession of it. The pope protested against this invasion of his territory in the strongest terms; and throughout Italy an outcry was raised against the aggression of Austria. The indignation was so marked that she receded from the step she had taken, and withdrew her troops to the citadel. Her influence was materially damaged by this confession of her weakness; the reformers everywhere laid hold of the protest of the pope to arouse the enemies of Austria; the pope refused her troops a passage towards Naples; and Parma and Modena alone adhered to her authority.

Thus far up to 1848 the Italians had stolen a march upon the authority of Austria, without giving her any opportunity for drawing the sword, and without creating alarm in European nations. In fact they had secured the friendship and support of the chief. Lord Palmerston displayed great zeal for the independence of the Italian states, and frequently remonstrated with Austria; and encouraged the Italian princes to adopt reform as a preventative against revolution. Lord Minto even repaired to Italy to assist the princes with his counsels, and to aid them in their reforms. France adopted the policy that England had displayed towards them. Everything thus seemed conspiring to favour the Italians, and to shake the authority of Austria. A series of events, however, occurred which convulsed Europe, and threatened the dissolution of the Austrian empire; but from which Austria rose with renewed power, and consolidated her influence in all parts of her dominions.

The eventful year of 1848 opened with signs of wondrous portent. The revolutionary spirit gave an electric shock, which ran from country to country, and shook every throne. Italy was already throbbing with intense excitement. Paris, the cradle of strife and centre of revolutionary action, assembled the democratic forces by a reform banquet; the national guard failed at the crisis; the Orleans dynasty was overthrown; and the Red Republicans ruled in France. Prussia caught the infection. Berlin rose in arms; the king hesitated to use stringent measures; and the monarchy of Frederick the Great was cast down. The petty states of Germany shared the madness; chimeras of unity and brotherhood dazzled the German mind. Even England was affected by the mania; Chartists held gigantic meetings; clubs were formed in Ireland; and the day was hailed with enthusiasm when the great Anglican and Hibernian republics should rise, and be allied with the democracy of the world. Austria could not withstand the surrounding contagion; neither her proud nobility, her sensual people, her colossal army, nor her centuries of glory could resist the fearful stream which was whirling, like a terrible malstroem, over Europe.

In every part of the empire the provincial estates had for the last few years manifested a spirit of opposition towards the supreme cabinet. The Lower Austrian estates had been petitioned for reforms; and on the 13th of March 1848, a band of students in the

academical costume, accompanied by a crowd of persons, proceeded to the House of Estates in Vienna with a petition. The members of the estates resolved at once to forward it to the palace, and marched in a body to the castle where the cabinet was sitting, followed by the students and the crowd. The patience of the expectants was severely tried; meanwhile the students harangued the mob, and the people thronged the streets and squares in increasing numbers. The cabinet submitted the petition to the emperor, who returned an answer that he would decide what was best for his subjects on any matter brought before him. The people were not satisfied, and moved about in vast masses in painful uncertainty. The Archduke Albert drew out the soldiers in the streets, where they were insulted and pressed upon by the crowd. No regular fighting, however, occurred; but a few shots were fired by some exasperated soldiers, and seventeen persons were killed. The approach of night increased the terror of the citizens; and armed robbers and marauders paraded the suburbs. The council-chamber was besieged by the university senate requesting arms for the students, who were willing to shed their blood for the preservation of peace. They were granted; and soon after an outcry was raised for the resignation of Prince Metternich. The veteran chancellor, who had filled his post with the greatest renown for thirty-nine years, resigned his office, and soon was on his way to London. The people shouted at their triumph; and witnessed with satisfaction many thousand muskets delivered to the students and citizens during the night.

The next day the national guard was formed amid great applause; and when the emperor announced the abolition of the censorship of the press, the crowds flocked to the statue of Joseph II., and fastened a banner, inscribed "Liberty of the Press," to his hand. On the 15th, a proclamation was issued by Ferdinand convoking the estates of the empire on the 3rd of July to arrange a constitution for Austria. The people had thus commenced a glorious revolution; they had procured arms, and a free press for their opinions, and were promised a popular constitution; and they testified their gratitude to the emperor, when he rode out, by unharnessing his horses, and drawing his carriage through the streets in triumph. There were, however, turbulent spirits who could exist only in strife, and who soon deluged Vienna with pamphlets, in which suspicions were insinuated against the government, and the foundations of morality undermined. Several precautionary measures were adopted to correct the abuse of the free press, and counter-pamphlets flew through the city to destroy the influence of the seditious. The new ministry was formed and announced on the 21st; but down to the end of March, confusion prevailed in all the offices of state. The ministry was insufficient to cope with the difficult task it had undertaken, and was held up to the ridicule of the citizens. On the 1st of April a law regulating the press was published; but the threats of the students induced the minister of the interior, Pillersdorf, to suppress it before it came into operation; and on the 25th the same minister drew up a new constitution, similar to that of

Belgium, which was to supersede the convocation of the estates, promised by the emperor on the 15th of March. The announcement of this constitution created great dissatisfaction in the capital. The central committee of the national guard took instant measures to overpower the ministry; private dwellings were broken into by the mob; the house of the Archbishop of Vienna was assaulted; and Count Ficquelmont was insulted in the streets, and forced to retire from the presidency of the council. Petitions intimidated the prime minister, from whom the central committee extorted the appointment of two new ministerial offices for the management of public works and of trade.

The authority of the ministers was thus controlled by the demagogues, who selected the earliest opportunity for destroying the new constitution. They availed themselves of a disturbance among the national guard, who rushed to the ministerial council to denounce their commander. The committee came to their aid, and demanded redress for them, and an alteration in the elective law. Pillersdorf soothed them with promises, and satisfied the applicants; but the more violent, headed by Giskra, repaired to the minister's house at night, forced an entrance into his chamber, and compelled him to sign a written promise that the emperor should repeal the constitution, and summon the diet, which should consist of one chamber. Without consulting his colleagues, the minister hastened to the emperor; who on the 16th of May issued a proclamation granting the concessions to the people. The next day Ferdinand, accompanied by his empress and the members of his family, secretly quitted the palace, and fled to Innsbruck. The ministers were unacquainted with his departure; and announced their astonishment in an official communication to the inhabitants of Vienna. Messengers were dispatched to recall the royal fugitives; but they refused to return to a capital which was swayed by the clubs, and the mob. The attempt on the part of the temporary ministry to dissolve the academic legion caused an insurrection on the 25th; the streets were barricaded; but no fighting took place; for the ministers yielded to the demands of the rioters, and gave up their designs. A committee of citizens, national guards, and students was formed for the preservation of peace and order; which was legalised by the prime minister, and henceforth usurped the authority of the government.

While the election for the coming diet was taking place, Vienna was agitated by the question, whether the emperor would come and open the assembly in person or by a representative. The national guard demanded and received from the imperial arsenal six complete batteries, and made vigorous efforts to defend the freedom they had won. The emperor appointed his uncle the Archduke John as his representative, and authorised him to open the diet and transact the business of the government until he came to Vienna. John was also chosen Vicar of Germany June 29, and set out for Frankfort on the 8th of July; and after nine days he returned to Vienna. During his absence the administration of Pillersdorf was broken up; and on the recommendation of the city committee, Doblhoff was charged

by the archduke with the construction of a new ministry. The opening of the grand diet did not take place till the 22nd of July; but leaving the disputes of that assembly, we will turn to the progress of the revolution in Bohemia and Hungary.

The Czechs, or aboriginal Bohemians, had long cherished the hope of transforming Austria into a Slavonic empire, where they would domineer over the alien races. A club was formed in Prague called the Wenzelbad, from the hotel where they met, for the purpose of promoting the Bohemian language and literature. It now drew out a petition demanding a popular government resident at Prague, and many reforms; which was carried to Vienna March 20, when the emperor returned an evasive answer. The citizens of Prague were dissatisfied; the students imitated the example of those at Vienna; a second deputation hurried to the palace on the 29th; and on the 8th of April the timid ministry granted the constitution demanded, abolished the time-honoured estates in Bohemia, appointed Count Thun governing president, and the Archduke Francis Joseph the lieutenant of Bohemia, an office, however, which he never filled. The Bohemian national assembly commenced its sittings under Thun; and one of the first acts was to appeal to the Slavonian brethren in the empire to meet in the ancient city of Prague to consult respecting the rights of their race, and to withstand the preponderating influence of the German party at Frankfort. Three hundred deputies responded to the appeal. Prague became the scene of disorder; the streets were crowded by Jews and mobs; and Thun was charged with favouring the German race. He defended himself with great ability, and established a provincial government for Bohemia, consisting of thirteen members, of which only two were Germans. The Slavonian congress was opened June 2 with great pomp; but its sittings were speedily brought to a termination. Prince Windischgrätz, who commanded the troops, had taken several precautionary measures against a tumult, which the people discovered. The Wenzelbad petitioned for his removal from the command; the cotton printers held gigantic meetings; the prince was peremptorily commanded to remove his troops, and a battery which threatened the city. He refused; his wife was shot at his side by a ball intended for him; and the signal was given for a bloody combat. The Germans united with the military, and the insurrection raged with fury for five days; but at length the city surrendered to the prince, after he had bombarded it, and laid much of it in ruins. The Slavonian congress was dispersed; the diet was suspended; Prague was tranquilised, and remained steadfast to the emperor.

In Hungary the diet was divided into two parties, the conservative, and those who were anxious to reform their institutions. On the 15th of March, a deputation of Hungarian nobles, with the Palatine Archduke Stephen, at their head, presented a petition to Ferdinand in Vienna. The emperor assented to their requests; and on the 11th of April repaired to Presburg to confirm the decrees of the diet. The Aulic chancery was abolished; a responsible ministry, with Count Louis Batthyany as president and Kossuth finance

minister, was instituted. A perfect equality of civil rights and public burdens among all classes, denominations, and races in Hungary, Transylvania, Slavonia, and Croatia was established; and religious toleration was granted to all parties except in Croatia. The censorship of the press was abolished; a national guard formed, and the elective franchise extended. The right of the nobles to exact labour or produce from lands held by the peasantry was given up, on receiving a slight compensation; and 500,000 peasants were thus invested with the absolute possession of land. Hungary and Transylvania were united, and their diets incorporated.

The Hungarians hailed these decrees with transports of joy; but the Austrian party determined to foster discontent against the new constitution. The animosity which prevailed among the various races, especially against the Magyar, was stimulated by them. A disaffected party was formed in Croatia, by whose intrigues Jellachich was appointed Ban of the province, without the consent of the Hungarian government; but the new ministry overlooked the breach of faith, and acquiesced in the appointment. By the intrigues of Austria, the Croats, Servians, and Wallachs were induced to rebel against the Hungarian authority. Jellachich openly organised a revolt, and defended his position by pleading the royal sanction. The emperor summoned him to Lunspruck, and published a decree which declared him a rebel, and exhorted the diet to raise an army against him; and Jellachich continued to urge on the insurrectionists to commit the most horrible devastations on the unfortunate Hungarians. The new national assembly of Hungary was opened at Pesth on the 5th of July by the Palatine, who in his opening address condemned the insurrection, and disavowed the acts of Jellachich, and the diet, reposing all confidence in the king, sent a deputation to entreat Ferdinand to repair to Pesth; but he prudently declined. The ravages committed by the Croats increased, and the people were clamorous for arms; but the ministry and the diet adhered to their legal course. Again they besought the king to aid them; and he requested them to send the two chief ministers to Vienna, to concert measures with the Austrian ministry and Jellachich. The Austrian cabinet designed to subvert the constitution of Hungary, and bent all its efforts to secure it. On the 2nd of September Latour the war-minister assured the diet that he had no connection with Jellachich; yet two days after, the emperor recalled the decree which suspended the Ban from his dignities, when he was encamped on the frontiers of Hungary with a large army.

Jellachich crossed the Drave with 65,000 men, and continued his course, marked by plunder and devastation, to lake Balaton. The archduke, as superior captain of the Hungarian forces, proceeded towards the rebel; but after inspecting his troops, he fled to Vienna, and resigned his office. Jellachich advanced with rapid strides, and showed the king's commission; Batthyany resigned; and the diet appointed a committee for national defence. The intrigues of the emperor with Jellachich were made known by an intercepted



dispatch from the Ban, in which he thanked Latour for the supplies of money and *materiel* he had sent him. The Hungarian diet printed the document to show the treachery of Austria, and aroused the spirit of the people by circulating it throughout the country. Jellachich with his Croats and several Austrian regiments moved towards Pesth, where the Hungarians seemed quite unprepared to resist him. Ferdinand carried on his apparent affection for his subjects, and appointed Count Francis Lamberg to the command of the Hungarian troops; but the diet refused to sanction his appointment, and declared him a traitor if he obeyed. While the unfortunate count was passing the bridge towards Buda he was brutally murdered by the infuriated mob. The nation, roused by the eloquence of Kossuth, flocked to Pesth; Jellachich was defeated on the 29th of September within twelve miles from the city; and in his flight, his rearguard 10,000 strong, with generals Philipowitch and Roth, surrendered. The emperor now openly declared against the Hungarians. He annulled the decrees of the diet, suspended the civil authorities, and appointed Jellachich, who had retreated to Raab, commander in chief of all the troops in Hungary. Kossuth was called by the nation to the head of the committee of defence, and exerted his powerful talents in providing means for the safety of his country.

In the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom discontent had long been secretly working against Austria. The Italians could not endure the sight of the foreigners filling the chief offices, for which they were unfitted; they trembled at the secret police, who invaded their most sacred retreats; and denounced the conscription for the Austrian army as unjust and tyrannical. The events which had taken place in the other Italian states in 1847 increased the disaffection of the people, and instigated them to adopt the same legal mode of redressing their grievances. The Lombards determined to deprive the government of part of its resources by pledging themselves to abstain from tobacco, snuff, and the lottery; and they even stopped those persons found smoking in the streets, and requested them to desist. The Austrian soldiers in consequence smoked more frequently to show at once their loyalty and their contempt of the Italians. This occasioned many quarrels between the populace and the military, which the soldiers patiently endured till the 3rd of January 1848, when they fell upon the crowd, killed eight persons, and wounded fifty. The government was haughty and overbearing in its conduct. It refused to admit a Lombard deputation, revoked its promises of redress, arrested men of rank and wealth, banished innocent persons from the country, and increased the license of the soldiers by the proclamation of martial law.

The revolution which had swept over Europe reached the Italian peninsula. On the 18th of March the news was spread through the city of Milan that Vienna was virtually without a government, and the Austrian bond of union snapped asunder. The city authorities, headed by the mayor and the archbishop, repaired to the government, and presented a petition praying for a municipal magistracy,

the election of deputies, the establishment of a civic guard, and the repeal of obnoxious laws. The government refused to yield; and the palace was instantly assailed, the guard disarmed, the governor captured, and the tricolour flag planted where the national ensign floated. Some Croats fired on the people, and shot six; and the tumult became furious. The town-hall was filled with citizens, who were enrolling the civic guard; and Radetzky ordered a troop of Hungarians to charge the assembly. The doors were barred, but were soon forced open with cannon, and the citizens captured. Meanwhile barricades were rising among the narrow streets, which were so strongly erected that the soldiers were unable to take them. The troops obtained possession of the broadest streets, the palace, cathedral, and the gates, and for five days defended them against the attacks of the populace; but on the 23rd the insurgents seized one of the gates, and opened a communication with their friends outside. The whole country was rising; the king of Sardinia had crossed the frontier with a powerful army; and Radetzky saw that he could no longer hold Milan. He determined to retreat to Verona. He skillfully drew off his artillery and prisoners, and hurried the disaffected Italian soldiers along with him at the point of the bayonet. His march was extremely difficult; the peasantry of Lombardy rose, seized the Austrian muskets, and harassed his retreat. They came up with his vanguard at Marignano, captured Count Wratislaw the commanding officer, and summoned the entire corps to surrender. The main army of Radetzky appeared; the slender barricades were blown up with cannon, and the peasants scattered. They returned to the conflict with resolute valour; they impeded his march by breaking down bridges, cutting off scouts, and surprising small detachments; their unerring rifles picked off the artillerymen and officers; and they ceased not to press upon the army till the arrival of the King of Sardinia relieved them from their efforts. Radetzky lost 5,000 men, while the loss of the Milanese is computed at only 329.

The news of the revolution in Vienna produced an insurrection in Venice, simultaneously with that in Milan. On the 17th of March the people clamoured for the release of Manin an advocate, and Tommases a literary man, who had been imprisoned for advocating the freedom of the press. The doors of the prison were forced open, and the leaders carried forth in triumph, amid the shouts of the people, in which the Italian soldiers heartily joined. The next day the crowds met in St. Mark's place, and were fired upon by the Austrian soldiers, who killed five and wounded the same number. The people fled, and were maddened to revenge; and the governor, fearing a bloody catastrophe, virtually resigned his authority by consenting to the establishment of a civic guard. The city was tranquil for a few days, while a conspiracy to usurp the government was being matured. Reports were circulated that the Austrian governor of the arsenal, Colonel Marinovitch, designed to blow up the city, and destroy the insurgents; and a plan was formed to obtain possession of the arsenal, the key of Venice, by introducing

the civic guard. The governor was detested by the workmen, who, when aware of the intentions of the people, murdered him, and introduced the guards on the 22nd. Major Bodai ordered a party of marines to resist them; but they rebelled against him, murdered him and declared for the republic of Venice. Count Palfy resigned his authority to the military commander Zichy, who immediately delivered up to the municipal authorities the city and its fortresses, 30,000 muskets, and the military chest containing more than a million pounds sterling. The Italian soldiers remained in Venice, but the foreigners were transported by sea to Trieste. The ancient republic was revived; the time-worn standard again floated on the towers; and a provincial government was established with Manin president, and Tommasso chief counsellor. The Austrian fleet at Pola, however, escaped from the hands of the Venetians. The Italian seamen were unanimously in favour of the republic, and lowered the Austrian flag on many vessels; and the provincial government sent dispatches ordering the fleet at Pola to sail to Venice. They were entrusted to the captain of a steamer which was to convey the ex-governor, and other Austrian officers to Trieste with orders to touch at Pola first. His passengers, however, compelled him to sail to Trieste at once, where his dispatches fell into the hands of the Austrians; who took instant measures at Pola, by means of land batteries, to prevent the sailing of the fleet, and the mutiny of the seamen. Twenty-two officers however, managed to escape, and reached Venice on the 13th of April.

The fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Peschiera alone remained to the Austrians. The Dukes of Parma and Modena fled from their dominions; and Milan became the centre rallying-point for the insurgent troops. The King of Sardinia pressed towards the capital; advanced to within a short distance of Radetzky's army, and permitted the marshal to take up a strong position under the walls of Verona. The inactivity of Charles Albert enabled Radetzky to procure reinforcements. General Welden with 10,000 men was hastening by forced marches from the Tyrol, and General Nugent with 30,000 men from the Friuli. Very slight efforts were made to check the advance of the troops; and for five weeks the engagements were confined to daily struggles between the advanced outposts of each army. Instead of attacking the reinforcements in detail, and preventing their junction, the king delayed till the advancing generals had re-conquered the Venetian territory, except the capital. On the 6th of May Charles Albert stormed the intrenched camp of Radetzky and was defeated with the loss of 1,500 men; and he then turned to besiege Peschiera, which surrendered to him on the 30th, and advanced northwards to the shores of Lake Garda. Nugent meanwhile had united with Radetzky; and the brave marshal suddenly issued from Verona, and surprised General Durando at the head of the Roman contingent in Vicenza, who capitulated June 10th, and agreed not to take up arms against Austria for three months. On the same day Charles Albert signed the act incorporating Lombardy with the kingdom of Sardinia.

The king suddenly turned against Verona in the hope that the

Austrians were engaged at Vicenza; but Radetzky had returned, and the Piedmontese were obliged to retire to their lines. The army now numbering 65,000 men occupied a line extending from Mantua to Rivoli; and the chief force was drawn towards Mantua for the purpose of investing that city. Radetzky made his dispositions with great skill; and while he excited the sanguine hopes of the king by feigned marches, and a slight victory which General Bava was permitted to gain over the Austrians at Governolo, he secretly crossed the Upper Adige, drove back the Piedmontese, and occupied La Crona on the 22nd of July. The next day the Austrians burst through the line of Rivoli, while another army of 25,000 men attacked the lines of Somma Campagna, where, after a gallant resistance on the part of the defenders, they firmly established themselves. Charles Albert was filled with consternation at the rapid successes of the Austrians, and with 30,000 men he advanced to storm the heights near Somma Campagna. The battle commenced on the 26th of July, and lasted twelve hours. The courage of the combatants rose to the highest enthusiasm; the Sardinian battalions rushed to the charge with the greatest impetuosity, and their superior numbers enabled them to maintain the struggle, and perhaps would have secured to them the victory, but for the arrival of Radetzky with 20,000 fresh troops from Verona, whose presence animated the soldiers, and gained a splendid triumph. The king retreated to Milan, which he entered on the 3rd of August. The excitement in the city was very profound; the citizens reared enormous barricades and swore to die behind them; and Charles Albert promised to risk another battle before the walls of Milan. He, however, secretly entered into a capitulation with Radetzky, which by some means was made known to the inhabitants. Their indignation was unbounded; the cry of vengeance rose from the infuriated populace; and it was with great difficulty the king could make his escape and flee to Turin. The Austrians entered Milan without resistance, and Radetzky congratulated his troops on the successful issue of the campaign. "You have marched from victory to victory, and in the short space of a fortnight, advanced victoriously from the Adige to the Ticino. The imperial flag waves again from the walls of Milan, and no enemy any longer treads the Lombardian territory." An armistice was granted to Charles Albert on the 9th of August, which was not broken till the following March.

The imperial diet at Vienna was incapable of grappling with the difficult task imposed upon it. The electors had returned such deputies as were remarkable neither for intelligence nor courage; and it is not to be wondered at that their deliberations were directed not so much to the new constitution, as to their own importance and power. The city was in a fearful condition; trade was at a stand-still; wages were extremely low; and the sufferings of the people were dreadful. Conflicts were frequent between the soldiers and the mob; which were but partially allayed by government providing public work for the people. The dissolution of the committee of public safety gave great satisfaction to the friends of anarchy, which broke out in a

violent disturbance on the night of the 14th of September. The war office was surrounded by armed bodies of the national guard and academic legion, wearing on their hats a printed bill stating, that "The restoration of the committee of public safety could alone save the threatened liberties of the free-minded citizens of Vienna." The vigorous movements of the military, however, dispersed the crowds, and restored tranquillity to the capital.

The discontent of the revolutionists reached its climax on the 6th of October. When the emperor, who had returned to his palace at Schönbrunn, issued the proclamation appointing Jellachich commander-in-chief, he ordered several regiments stationed at Vienna to join the Ban. Among them was the Richten battalion of grenadiers, who were unwilling to march on such service, and communicated their dissatisfaction to the division of the national guards and academic legion stationed near their barracks, who resolved to prevent their departure. On the night of the 5th of October, a deputation waited on Count Latour, the war minister, to demand the recall of the order; and on his refusal to comply, instant measures were taken to prevent the march of the troops. The railway was broken up, and a strong barricade erected on the Tabor bridge, across which the troops had to pass. The grenadiers went over to the guards behind the barricade. Troops of cavalry and infantry were brought out to enforce their submission; and artillery was planted against the barricade. The troops, however, were defeated with great loss; and the insurgents marched into the city, where barricades were rapidly rising. The greatest confusion prevailed among the officials; the imperial troops were hurled back by the impetuosity of the rioters; who, infuriated by the bloody conflict, rushed towards the war office. The gates were forced open; the building was entered; and the cry resounded through the rooms, "Latour must be hung." They searched and plundered the apartments, dragged the old man from his hiding-place, and led him into the streets; where he was insulted, brutally wounded in forty-three places, hung up as a target for rifle shots, and horribly mutilated. The faithful troops retreated to the arsenal, followed by the insurgents. The firing on both sides was fearfully destructive, and the building was in flames during the night; yet the brave troops refused to yield the stronghold till summoned to do so by their commander, Count Auersperg, who had stipulated for their surrender. The national guard and academic legion took possession of the arsenal; but the mob burst into it, and carried away 200,000 new muskets, and the military trophies and relics which had been stored up for centuries.

The diet now usurped the authority of the government. It declared its sittings permanent, and elected a committee of safety. A deputation from it waited on the emperor, and demanded a new and popular cabinet, the dismissal of Jellachich, the revocation of the edict against the Hungarians, and an amnesty for the rioters of that day. The emperor returned an evasive answer, and early in the morning of the 7th of October quitted his palace with his family for

Olmütz, leaving a sealed proclamation, with instructions to his minister Kraus to read it the next morning. In it he stated that he had done all he could; he had given up his unlimited authority, been forced to quit his palace, and had again thrown himself on their confidence; but still they were dissatisfied; the capital was stained with blood; and he now left it to find means to aid his oppressed people. The diet assumed the executive power, and acted in the emperor's name. Deputations were sent to Ferdinand to request him to come back, or to abdicate the throne; messages were sent to Count Auersperg, who was stationed outside the walls, to come in, and also to Jellaich to retire from Ebersdorf with his Croats; but both refused to obey the instructions of the diet. The Hungarians who were on the frontiers of Austria, promised their assistance if requested; but the diet trembled to give its sanction to such a decisive step.

Meanwhile the emperor was concerting measures to gather a large force, put down the insurgents, and save the capital from the perilous situation into which it had been brought by the weakness, indecision, and duplicity of the Austrian cabinet. He sent forth proclamations declaring war against the rebels, and appointed Prince Windischgrätz commander-in-chief of all the forces, except Radetzky's in Italy, with unlimited power. On the 23rd of October the prince appeared before Vienna with an army of 100,000 men, and 140 guns, and summoned the city to surrender within forty-eight hours. The insurgents had made vigorous preparations for the defence. Fortifications were reared and mounted with cannon; the national guard was commanded by Messenhauser, an Austrian officer, and the mobile guard by General Bem, a distinguished Polish military man. The time expired; the prince directed his march towards the city, and after a hard day's fighting, captured the exterior lines of the Leopoldstadt faubourg. The next day was spent in negotiation, and being fruitless, the attack commenced on the 28th, when the city was set on fire in many places. On the following morning a deputation waited on the prince with proposals to surrender; but he refused to abate his demand for disarming the students and work-people, though he consented to suspend hostilities for twelve hours to allow the Viennese an opportunity of deliberating. A council was called; the desperate condition of the besieged was declared; and a large majority decided that the defence should cease. This was announced to Windischgrätz; and the disarming of the workmen had actually commenced, when the sound of a brisk cannonade arrested the attention of the city, which was thrown into a state of rejoicing by the intelligence of the long expected approach of the Hungarians. The citizens were again summoned to arms; and the besiegers renewed the bombardment of the town.

The Hungarians had long hovered near the frontiers in the expectation of being summoned to assist the city. Kossuth joined the army on the 28th, and hearing the distressed state of Vienna, he resolved to advance to its relief. He defeated several scattered detachments of imperialists, and pushed on towards Vienna.

Auersperg and Jellaehich had united, and taken up a strong position planted with sixty cannon, which the Hungarians must have passed; while ten regiments of cavalry were sent to cut off their rear. Görgei, who was in an inferior rank, pointed out to Kossuth their great danger; and an instant retreat from the long defile was sounded. The Austrians attacked the fugitives, and drove them into Hungary, and thus disappointed the hopes of the Viennese.

After the bombardment of the 30th the city again surrendered. The deputation to Windischgrätz declared that the greater part of the citizens would surrender unconditionally, but that the more violent party threatened to set the city on fire rather than yield. The prince ordered large bodies of troops to enter the faubourgs whose unreserved surrender was indicated by white flags; but the troops had scarcely made their appearance before their ranks were thinned by a murderous fire of grape and musketry. This treachery aroused the spirit of the prince; he ordered the inner city to be bombarded, and three gates to be stormed simultaneously. Flames speedily rose from the imperial library, two churches, and the public buildings; the troops commenced a deadly contest in the streets; and before midnight the greater part of the city was conquered. The conflict raged the next day, and the night had nearly passed before the resistance of the rebels ceased. Windischgrätz declared that in consequence of the breach of capitulation, the conditions he had at first agreed to were null and void; that Vienna was in a state of siege; the academic legion dissolved for ever, and the national guard for an indefinite time; all newspapers and political associations were suspended, and domiciliary visits to be made for the discovery of concealed arms, &c. Vienna sustained great loss during the bombardment; the fire in the library was fortunately extinguished with little damage; one fine church was nearly destroyed; and property to the amount of one million and a quarter sterling wasted. General Bem fled to Hungary in disguise; Messenhauser and a few distinguished agitators were shot; but many escaped by flight before the city was captured.

After the subjugation of Vienna, the government conciliated the people, with the exception of the Hungarians, who were warned of the impending fate which the intrigues of Kossuth would bring upon them. A new ministry was formed, of which Prince Felix Schwarzenberg was premier and minister for foreign affairs, and Count Francis Stadion, minister of the interior. Their principles were unfolded in the premier's speech to the diet November 27, which stated their determination to consolidate the freedom won by the revolution of March, not to attempt the revival of the old bureaucracy, which had swayed omnipotent power over the provinces from one central office, but to develop a system of government in accordance with the spirit and exigencies of the times; which was to be effected by popular representation of the people, by free communes, and unshackled executive authority. "We desire that form of government whose existence and secure character can be recognised by the monarch, and the representative body of Austria."

The emperor Ferdinand had, however, become weary of his dignities, and dissatisfied with the instability of his subjects; and the feeling of incapacity to hold the reins of government under a new order of things induced him to abdicate the throne on the 2nd of December, 1848. His next brother and legal heir Francis Charles, likewise renounced the succession; and Francis Joseph, the son of the renouncing archduke, was proclaimed emperor by the title of Francis Joseph I.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I. A.D. 1848-1859.

FRANCIS JOSEPH was in his nineteenth year when the abdication of the crown by his uncle, and its renunciation by his father called him to the throne. The position he occupied was one of great peril and demanded the wisdom of long experience to be blended with the enlightenment of the present age, to guide the affairs of an empire which was still throbbing with the effects of revolution. The late emperor had greatly embarrassed himself by oaths which had been violated, and promises which had never been fulfilled; but the new emperor received his dignity without a single shackle, and had a fine opportunity of making such concessions to his people as would have conciliated them, and secured their gratitude. His first proclamation announced his resolution to preserve the liberties of his subjects. "We are convinced of the necessity and value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous reformation of the monarchy. On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their equally partaking in the representation and legislation, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storms of time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, under the sceptre of our fathers." The Hungarian diet issued a declaration that they could not acknowledge Francis Joseph king of Hungary, because, according to their constitutional law, no one could be elected to the throne while the former king lived, without the consent of the diet, and because no king could be recognised until he had taken the oath to the constitution, and been crowned. The triumph of the imperial arms over the insurgents at Vienna, and the Hungarians who advanced to their succour, determined the emperor to undertake the conquest of Hungary, annihilate the laws on which this declaration was based, and incorporate it with the empire.

On the 15th of December 1848 Prince Windischgrätz commenced the invasion of Hungary. The main army, in three divisions under Jellachich, Simonich and Serbelloni, advanced from Austria; general



Schlick from Galicia; Dahlen from Illyria; and a powerful force from Transylvania. To oppose this overwhelming invasion, the Hungarians could bring scarcely 50,000 armed men into the field. The Hungarian army had been hitherto supplied by the government from the arsenal at Vienna; and consequently the supply of arms and ammunition was now very scanty. The indefatigable exertions of Kossuth, president of the committee of defence, remedied the deficiency. Powder-mills and factories were established, the church bells melted down, and exchequer notes, chargeable on the crown lands, circulated throughout the country. The imperialists were victorious in their early efforts. The main army advanced rapidly from the frontiers of Austria, captured Oedenburg, Tyrnau and Presburg, and drove Görgei from the strong intrenchments he had formed at Raab. Jellachich attacked the Hungarians under Perezel at Mör, and after a bloody engagement completely routed them. Görgei crossed the Danube and entered Pesth January 3 1849.

The successes of the Austrians filled the Hungarian government with dismay. Already discord and disunion had appeared among the rulers. Görgei, aware of the feeble force at his command, had urged the civil authorities to remove the seat of government from Pesth to the great central plain bounded by the Teiss, the Maros, and the Transylvanian mountains, as being vastly superior for defence, and for raising and supplying an army. Kossuth rejected his proposal as calculated to damp the ardour of the nation; and between the two leaders there sprung up a bitter hostility which ultimately ruined their country. The diet sent a deputation with Batthyany at its head, to Windischgrätz, in the hope of gaining favourable terms of peace; but the ex-minister was seized and imprisoned. The government hastily left Pesth for Debreezin, taking with them the venerated crown of St. Stephen, and all the public funds; and ordered Görgei to risk a battle before the city, which he was to preserve at all hazards, and to secure also a retreat beyond the Danube. A council of war, however, countermanded the order, and instructed Görgei to march along the left bank of the Danube to draw off the Austrians from Debreezin. Two days after the flight of the government, Windischgrätz entered the Hungarian capital without firing a single shot.

Görgei published at Waitzen a declaration stating that the army fought for its king Ferdinand V., and the laws of 1848; and advancing with rapid marches, he came up with a body of Austrians at Schemnitz, from whom he received a severe defeat, January 21. He continued his march towards the Carpathian mountains, and maintained himself with great bravery amid the frozen heights in the county of Zips. His situation, however, was daily becoming extremely perilous, for the Austrians were hemming him in on all sides. His general Guyon carried off the gold and silver stores from the mining districts, and the gunpowder from Neusohl, and hastened after him. On his advance, Guyon was opposed by a division of Schlick's army, which had seized the rugged pass of the Branyiszko, the only road by which the troops of Görgei could form a junction

with the army of the Teiss. The Austrians had occupied every point with cannon, which swept every bend of the road. Guyon ordered his men to advance; and in the dead of the night, they climbed up the steep footpaths, known only to natives, and silently dragged their artillery after them. A single gun announced their arrival at the top, and was the signal for the attack from the valley below. The Austrians gradually relinquished their posts, and fled, after losing one-third of their number, and nearly all their artillery. The road was now open; the army of Görgei passed through the defile, and reached Eperies February 6, and opened his communication with the government at Debreczin.

Meanwhile Windischgrätz advanced towards the Teiss, and stationed a corps under Öttinger at Szolnok; which by the negligence of the commander was surprised by the Hungarians, and the greater portion cut down or made prisoners. On the advance of a large reinforcement, the Hungarians declined a battle, and retired beyond the Teiss. General Schliek successfully engaged the Hungarians under Meszaros on the heights of Pareza, but was defeated by Klapka, who had succeeded to the command, and was driven back from the neighbourhood of Tokay to Eperies, whence on the advance of Görgei, he hastily fled to Kasehau. Klapka followed his foe, and attempted to surround him in the mountain passes; but Schliek led his troops by narrow paths over frozen tracts, and by a series of bold and rapid movements, ultimately joined the main Austrian army, after losing three-fourths of his men.

On the Teiss, Perczel was superseded by General Dembinski, a Pole who had highly distinguished himself in the Polish war of 1831. A battle was fought at Kapolna on the 26th of February, in which the Austrians were victorious; but as the Hungarians were retiring, the Austrian cavalry came up with them at Maklar on the 28th, and were driven back with heavy loss. Dembinski continued his retreat, followed by the Austrians, and on the 2nd of March crossed the Teiss at Tisza-Füred. The next day the officers expressed their want of confidence in Dembinski, and demanded a new commander. Görgei was appointed by the commissary of the government; but the Pole refused to submit, and was, therefore, arrested by Görgei. At this juncture Kossuth, with general Vetter and Meszaros war-minister, arrived; and an investigation of the affair took place, which resulted in the removal of Dembinski, and the appointment of Vetter commander-in-chief and of Görgei second in command.

Operations were now commenced against the Austrians with great energy. While a strong force was stationed at Tisza-Füred, Görgei recrossed the Teiss, and Vetter advanced against Szolnok. The Austrians had neglected to secure this important place, and were driven from it with the loss of 500 men, and all the *materiel* of war. Görgei came up with the enemy at Erlau, and in a brilliant engagement he forced the Austrians to flee, and rapidly pursued them. The imperial rearguard vainly attempted to turn the pursuit; they were defeated and almost annihilated by the victorious Hungarians; and the army continued its flight beyond Hatvan till it reached

Godollo, the nearest outpost to Pesth. The Austrian right wing commanded by Jellachich was posted at Tapiobicze, and Klapka, who led Vetta's army, resolved to attack him. He crossed the Tapio with his whole army April 4, and fell into an ambush-prepared for him by Jellachich. His corps were thrown into the greatest confusion, and would have been cut down, but for the timely arrival of Damjanic, who rushed on the Austrians, turned the tide of the battle, and forced the enemy to retire. Klapka pushed on towards Godollo, and came up with Jellachich near Isaszeg, where he occupied a position which was deemed impregnable, and was defended by 120 guns. The onsets of the Hungarians, and the masterly dispositions of the general prevailed; and after a bloody conflict, the position was taken. The next day April 6, Görgei encountered the Austrians at Godollo. The battle was decisive; the Austrians retreated towards Pesth, leaving 3,000 prisoners, twenty-six cannon, seven standards, and thirty-eight wagons of ammunition in the hands of the Hungarians. Windischgrätz was recalled, and Field-Marshal Welden appointed in his place.

The Hungarians were meanwhile victorious in Transylvania. General Bem retreated before the superior force of Puchner till he had organised some of the wild tribes, and collected an army of 20,000 men. He attacked General Gideon, and drove him into the Bukowina. Lüders, the Russian commander in Wallachia, sent, by request of Puchner, 6,000 troops to Hermanstadt, and 4,000 to Kronstadt. When Puchner had retired from the former town, Bem rapidly advanced against it, defeated an Austrian corps in his passage, and drove the Russians from the town. He then turned to Kronstadt, and received the capitulation of the town; and soon made himself master of Transylvania, with the exception of the garrison of Clausenberg, and a few mountainous districts.

After the victory of Godollo, the Hungarian forces divided; and one portion was led by Görgei to the relief of Komorn which was besieged by the Austrians, while the other part under Dembinski remained to watch the movements of the enemy at Pesth. On the 8th of April Görgei set out on his march, and on the following day he stormed Waitzen, which was defended by 12,000 Austrians, carried the town with great gallantry, crossed the river Gran, and advanced to Komorn. The Austrians made vigorous efforts to stay his progress. A large army under Wohlgemuth met him on the 19th, near Nagy Sarlo, where a battle ensued which was fiercely contested with equal ability the whole day; but in the evening the Austrians abandoned their camp, and retreated. The road to Komorn was now clear. Welden had spent his chief efforts in defending Pesth, anticipating that the Hungarians would direct their forces first against the capital. When, however, he saw his communication with Vienna threatened, and relief hastening to Komorn, he evacuated Pesth, and ordered Schlick and Warbna to follow Görgei, and prevent his success. The step was taken too late. Görgei had reached Komorn, repulsed the besiegers on the left bank of the Danube, and reinforced the garrison. He bridged

the stream with great celerity, stormed the intrenchments of the enemy, defeated Welden in a bloody battle, pursued the fugitives to Raab, and at length drove them across the frontiers into Austria. Temesvar surrendered to Bem, the Banat acknowledged his authority, and the Hungarian rule was recognised everywhere, except in Buda, where 6,000 Austrians still remained in garrison.

On the receipt of the dispatch of Windischgrätz containing an inflated account of the splendid victory of Kapolna, the emperor issued on the 4th of March 1849 a charter which proclaimed the indivisibility of the empire, the existence of provincial diets, and of one central chamber at Vienna by which all the affairs of the empire were to be transacted. This act virtually destroyed the ancient constitution of Hungary, extinguished its nationality, and reduced it to a mere Austrian province. In reply to this, Kossuth prepared, and the diet sanctioned April 14, a proclamation which excluded the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine from the throne of Hungary, and declared them to be deposed, degraded, and banished for ever from the Hungarian territory. The future form of government was to be discussed; and till it could be decided, Kossuth was appointed the governing president, responsible to the diet for his acts. This proclamation, however, was not followed by necessary measures on the part of the military. Instead of following the Austrians, and appearing before Vienna, where they had no force to oppose them, Görgei marched with the greater part of his army to Buda, and after three weeks' siege, carried the fortress by storm. The Austrians had time to reorganise their army; the proclamation stirred up numerous enemies in Hungary, and stimulated the activity of the imperial cabinet; and the spirit of jealousy was rapidly spreading among the Hungarian leaders, and threatened to destroy the effectiveness of the next campaign.

While these events were transpiring in Hungary, hostilities had recommenced in Italy. Charles Albert had employed the truce in preparing for the coming struggle; and on the 12th of March 1849, he gave notice of his intention to renew hostilities on the 20th. Radetzky immediately issued a proclamation to his army, and pointed out their destination in the concluding words of his address, "Forwards soldiers to Turin." He secretly concentrated his corps round Pavia; and the moment the armistice expired, he crossed the Ticino, without the slightest opposition. The next day he encountered and defeated with heavy loss two Piedmontese divisions at Mortara; and on the 23rd brought the main army to an engagement at Novara. The Piedmontese were so thoroughly defeated, that Charles Albert abdicated his throne that night in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel. The next day Radetzky had an interview with the young king, and agreed to an armistice on condition that 20,000 Austrians occupied the country between the Ticino and Sesia, that the fortress of Alessandria be jointly occupied by Piedmontese and Austrians, that the Hungarian, Polish, and Lombard troops be disbanded, the Sardinian fleet recalled from the Adriatic, and negotiations for peace commenced without delay.

Meanwhile Brescia, the second city in Lombardy, rose, and asserted her independence. The inhabitants were shut up in the town by the neighbouring troops till General Haynau, who had been blockading Venice, arrived with 4,000 men. He gained possession of the gates without a struggle; but a fearful contest was carried on in the streets. The town was fired; and the people attempted to flee from the flames by leaping over the walls; but they were driven towards the gates, where numbers were horribly burned to death. The town was a heap of ruins; all prisoners taken with arms were publicly shot; and the streets were filled with the charred and mangled bodies of the fallen. The general was thus preparing himself for his shameful brutalities in Hungary at the close of the year.

On the capitulation of Milan, Venice revived her republican government, and elected Manin dictator. All the wonderful changes which had taken place in Italy—the desertion of Naples, the Austrian occupation of Tuscany, the French occupation of Rome, the defeat of the Sardinians at Novara, and the withdrawal of the Sardinian navy—did not shake her confidence in her position and strength. Though greatly distressed for provisions, she refused to bend to Austria, and prepared to hold out at any cost to the last. On the 4th of May Radetzky arrived before Venice, and summoned the city to surrender within forty-eight hours; and offered an amnesty to the officers and soldiers, and permission for any one to leave the city. These terms were rejected; and the siege was recommenced with great vigour. The only fort the Venetians held on the mainland was attacked, and after three weeks' of incessant labour was reduced. Two miles of water now separated the queenly city from her enemies; and on the 15th the bombardment commenced, but most of the balls and shells fell short. The besiegers attempted to reduce the city by means of balloons. Five were constructed; and to the ear of each were suspended five bombs by copper wire, which when cut fired the fusee by galvanism. The experiment, however, failed; and for a short time an ominous silence reigned. Venice was in a state of famine; starving crowds pressed around the bakers' shops and clamoured for bread; and the strict blockade by sea and land prevented any supplies reaching the citizens. On the 1st of August Radetzky again commenced firing from some heavy cannon, and long-ranged guns, by which he was enabled to throw showers of red-hot shot into the city. The destruction of property was terrible; most of the splendid churches were struck, the palaces on the grand canal were riddled with balls, and the public statues and monuments were thrown down. The citizens still held out, though their wretched provisions were becoming more scanty; and to add to their sufferings, the cholera broke out among them in its most malignant form, and carried off nearly one hundred daily. On the 14th of August Radetzky again offered the same terms of capitulation, but they refused them as before. A few days after, however, they saw that further resistance was useless, and sent a deputation to the Austrian camp with an offer to capitulate. Three days elapsed before the

answer of the prince arrived, during which time the Venetians were kept in a dreadful state of suspense; but at length Radetzky accepted their submission, and imposed upon them merely the same stipulations as he had before demanded. The firing on both sides ceased; the republic was broken up; and the municipal authorities reinstated in their offices.

The middle of June passed before hostilities were renewed in Hungary. The interval had been spent in the most active preparations. Russia willingly came to the aid of Austria with 130,000 men; and the emperor had mustered 230,000 soldiers to ravage Hungary. This vast force invaded the country at five points. General Haynau, now commander-in-chief, entered at Presburg; Prince Paskievitch crossed the Gallician frontiers at Dukla, with a Russian corps; Puelner, with an Austro-Russian army, entered the north of Transylvania towards Claufenberg; Lüders entered the south upon Hermanstadt; and the fifth advanced from Orsova to join Jellachich and his Croats. To resist this overwhelming force, the Hungarians had an army of 45,000 men under Görgei, 40,000 under Bem in Transylvania, and 30,000 in the Banat. Kossuth wished to concentrate all the forces within the Teiss, and act on the advancing columns, or delay the campaign till the noxious marshy fevers would compel the invaders to retire. Görgei opposed this plan from hatred to Kossuth; and watched for an opportunity of deposing the governor, and betraying Hungary to the Russians. He pushed forward his troops beyond the Waag, and was defeated in several slight engagements; and on the 20th of June he routed the Austrians at Szerid, but was obliged to fall back to Komorn by the advance of the Russian reserves. The allies marched onwards to Raab, which they carried by storm, and attacked the intrenchments of the Hungarians at Komorn. The resistance was very determined. Görgei fought with great intrepidity, and was wounded by a sabre; and Haynau was forced to retire. The Hungarian government forwarded a despatch ordering Görgei to relinquish his command, because he had refused to march to Pesth; but the officers expressed their confidence in him, and in a council of war, declared that he alone should lead them. The government was forced to submit; but had still more incensed the general against them.

Görgei wished to unite with the armies in the centre of Hungary. He attacked the Austrian lines, but failed to burst through them; and he turned towards the Russian forces in the east. He deceived the enemy by his singular marches, gained a splendid victory at Waitzen, burst through the Russian lines, and disappeared among the Carpathian mountains. Though surrounded by enemies, he continued his march with energy and skill. He attacked the Russian positions where they least expected him, flew from mountain to valley with inconceivable rapidity, and caused his very name to be terrible to the outposts. He was all the while pondering how he could most signally resent the indignities he had received from the government. His sole object now appears to have been self-ambition and self-aggrandisement; and he wilfully neglected opportunities, when he might have

united with the other Hungarian armies, and crushed their common foe. On the 20th of July he was at Putnok, and Dembinski at Solnock on the Teiss. Paskievitch had advanced to Miskolcz half-way between the two armies; and the co-operation of the generals would have scattered the Russian army, which was prostrated by sickness, and decimated by cholera. When Görgei arrived near Debreczin, he despatched a body of 8000 men under Nagy Shandor against the Russians; and he refused to succour this heroic band, struggling against 80,000 troops, because of his hatred of Nagy Shandor.

Meanwhile Haynau came up with the army of Dembinski at Szoreg, where after a bloody battle the Hungarians were defeated. Dembinski was ordered to retire to the strong fortress of Arad, and unite with Görgei, but he retreated to Temesvar. Bem had been forced to evacuate Transylvania, and arrived at Temesvar just before the approach of Haynau and Jellachich. The fatal battle commenced in the morning of the 9th of August. The Hungarians fought with the greatest intrepidity; the cavalry of Guyon made terrible havoc with the Russians, and drove them back; and victory seemed sure to honour the Hungarians. The artillery, however, suddenly ceased; and it was discovered that part of the ammunition had been sent off the previous night to Arad. Prince Lichtenstein, learning the condition of the enemy, charged the right wing; the Russian batteries recommenced their destructive fire; and the day was lost to Hungary. The army fled in tumultuous haste; the soldiers became entangled in a dense forest in the night and dispersed; and in the morning scarcely a thousand men assembled out of the gallant army that had been proudly led into action. The news of the defeat was conveyed to the government at Arad, where Görgei was intriguing to obtain the governorship, that he might surrender to the Russians, whom he represented as willing to establish a constitutional monarchy, and aid them against Austria. He succeeded in his designs. The ministry resigned; Kossuth abdicated in favour of Görgei; the army was disbanded; and a letter was sent to General Rudiger, stating that he was willing to surrender unconditionally. The preliminaries were signed at Vilagos, August 12, and on the following day 24,000 Hungarian soldiers laid down their arms and 144 cannon at the feet of the Russians. The fortresses of Arad and Peterwaradin surrendered at discretion.

Komorn still held out. Klapka had successfully defeated the besiegers in various sallies; and on the 1st of August he issued forth with his chief force, routed the besiegers, captured their provisions and ammunition, retook Raab, and scoured the country around. He caused the greatest consternation at Vienna, which was now open to his victorious soldiers; and on the day before Görgei surrendered, he was about to invade Styria. The tidings of Görgei's appointment as dictator recalled him to Komorn, which he stored with abundant provision to resist a siege. It was invested by the whole Austrian force; and after many debates, Klapka capitulated September 29 on condition that the garrison should be allowed to

secure their pay, and to retire unmolested. The stipulation was granted, and kept towards the officers, but the soldiers were forced into the imperial ranks.

The day of vengeance towards Hungary had now arrived. One inducement held out to Klapka to surrender was the promise that the emperor would show clemency to the prisoners, and to the country generally. Haynau, however, could not forego his savage brutality. Hungarian ladies were publicly scourged for their patriotism by being driven between two lines of Austrian soldiers armed with rods. Görgei obtained his pardon at the express desire of Nicholas of Russia, but no mercy was shown to the others. Thirteen generals and field-officers were executed at Arad; ten ministers and civil rulers atoned for their patriotism by their blood; and more than a thousand grandes perished by Austrian hands. The colonels and majors in the Hungarian army were condemned to imprisonment, or service as privates in the imperial ranks; and the principal families of Hungary were oppressed by exorbitant fines and confiscations. Kossuth immediately after his resignation escaped into Turkey, and with many other leaders and soldiers, took refuge in Widdin. Russia and Austria demanded the surrender of the refugees by the Porte; but the sultan, advised by England, refused to comply with the demands. They were, however, removed to Kutayah, where they remained till the middle of 1851, when the United States sent a vessel, with the consent of the sultan, to convey Kossuth and his companions away. Many of the Hungarians voluntarily professed Islamism, and remained in the land of Mohammed.

Nearly ten years have now passed since Hungary was subdued; and the condition of the Austrian empire has not materially changed. The promises, with which she lulled her subjects, have been unfulfilled; the constitutional liberty, which was to "restore the country to its ancient grandeur," has existed only in name; the animosity of the different races and religions is still rampant; and the disaffection of the people is alone kept down by military terror. After the ravages of the troops, the Hungarian provinces remained in a fearful state; villages had been nearly depopulated, and fruitful fields devastated; the men were cut down by the sword, and the women and children roved amid the forests in bands, and dragged out a miserable existence upon acorns and wild roots. The Italian provinces were in as wretched a condition; and the last sparks of freedom were trampled out with the heavy heel of military despotism. The sword was the only power trusted; and when the young emperor was once assured by a flatterer that he had the sympathy of the whole world, he drew his sword, and, standing erect, exclaimed, "I need no sympathy. Here's my sympathy."

While the revolution was disturbing the Austrian dominions, the German diet at Frankfort was threatening to transfer its perpetual presidency from Austria to Prussia. The *furor* of the German people for unity and liberty, awakened by the revolution of Paris, wrung out from the members of the diet the convocation of a national assembly to cement the German states into a firm



confederation. The popular party offered the headship to the king of Prussia, who at first refused the honour; but afterwards, by the advice of general Radowitz, he attempted to gain by diplomacy what he had rejected at the hands of the people, and succeeded in establishing the league of the Three Kings, and convoked the assembly at Erfurt, March 20, 1850. The princes of Germany speedily became alarmed at the increasing power of Prussia, and rewarded her assistance to them in their time of need by deserting the alliance. The diplomatic correspondence between Austria and Prussia was voluminous and complicated; and the former power, advised by Russia, at length boldly summoned the members of the old Germanic confederation to meet at Frankfort, and proceed to business under her presidency. A single event threatened to enkindle the flames of war, and actually brought the Austrian and Prussian armies face to face. The disputes respecting the right of the Hessian parliament to refuse a tax proposed by the government brought the people into collision with their prince and the members of the diet. For a long time they maintained a dignified resistance, and at length sought the aid of Prussia, who possessed the right of marching troops along certain roads within the Hessian territories. The elector fled to the diet for support; and the federal and Prussian troops confronted each other. The outbreak of a gigantic war was prevented by the surrender of Hesse to the will of the elector.

Austria was kept in a state of continual alarm by the spirit of disaffection which prevailed in Hungary and Italy. The refugees in England and America corresponded with the patriots, and organised several conspiracies, which the Austrian spies detected before they ripened into open revolt. Kossuth could not forget the cries of his oppressed countrymen; and Mazzini longed for an opportunity of throwing a firebrand into the cities of Lombardy. An insurrection broke out in Milan, February 6, 1853, when the Austrian sentinels were surprised, and the troops in the arsenal massacred; but the vigour of Marshal Radetzky and Count Gyulai speedily crushed it. Milan was rigorously oppressed, numbers of the citizens were arrested, and several were shot or hung. In Hungary there was also an active movement to throw off the rule of the Hapsburg. At Komorn the attempt was made by the provost; but the Austrians promptly discovered it, and six hours after, the official paid the penalty of his rashness with his life. In Pesth a general rising of the population was anticipated; and the garrison and police were armed, and stood ready to crush the first manifestation of disaffection. Numerous arrests were also made in Prague and Moravia.

An attempt was made in Vienna, February 18, to assassinate the emperor. He was walking on the bastion with General O'Donnell, and halted near the Carinthian gate, when a young man named Libeng, a native of Stuhlwerssenberg in Hungary, came suddenly behind Francis Joseph and stabbed him in the neck with a large knife. The wound proved to be a very slight one, from the effects of which the emperor rapidly recovered; but the attempt caused a

great sensation throughout the Austrian dominions. The assassin boldly stated that he did it to let people see what a Hungarian could do for his country; and all classes crowded around the emperor to congratulate him on his escape. The excitement against England rose to the highest pitch; a note was dispatched to the government from Vienna on the subject of giving refuge to political conspirators; and the Austrian aristocracy displayed their hatred of England by refusing to admit an Englishman into their houses.

Austrian diplomacy found ample scope for displaying its ingenuity during the Russian war. At the commencement of 1853, Russia imperiously demanded from Turkey the protectorate over the Greek Church in the Turkish empire by which the independence and loyalty of a large portion of the sultan's dominions were threatened. The Porte refused the czar's demands; and in the beginning of July 1853, the Russians under Prince Gortschakoff crossed the Pruth, and occupied the Moldo-Wallachian principalities. The western powers, England, France, Austria and Prussia, unanimously condemned the aggressions of Nicholas; and when Russia advanced into the Principalities, Austria concentrated her troops near the Servian frontier. In July the first of several conferences met in Vienna, at which the representatives of the four powers drew up a note as a declaration from the sultan to the czar, that he would respect the treaties which gave protection to the christian religion. As the note was rendered harmless by its ambiguity, the czar readily accepted it; but when the sultan accurately defined the sense he put upon the terms, the Russian emperor politely declined the Vienna proposal.

Great efforts were made to prevent hostilities. On the 20th of September, Francis Joseph met the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia at Olmütz, where a congress was held for eight days, and a new note was prepared by Austria which, however, was rejected by England. War was formally declared by Russia against Turkey, November 11; the two armies commenced their deadly struggle; and the English and French fleets entered the Black sea, January 4, 1854, and declared war against Russia, March 28.

Many considerations induced Austria to stand aloof from the Anglo-French alliance. She had not forgotten the treatment her general, Haynau, had received when visiting London, nor the warm reception England had given to the Hungarian patriot, Kossuth. Her gratitude to Russia for the service rendered to her in crushing the revolution of Hungary also induced her to hesitate in throwing her weight into the balance against Russia, and to content herself with employing pacific measures to dissuade the czar from his ambitious designs. So long as the Sulina mouths of the Danube were kept open, and her territories were not threatened, Austria was willing to stand by and witness the spoliation of Turkey. While, therefore, the allies were preparing for war, the emperor Francis Joseph was celebrating his marriage with the Duchess Elizabeth with great splendour at Vienna.

Austria, forgetting recent differences, entered into an alliance with

Prussia, April 20, 1854; by which the two powers guaranteed each other's dominions from attack, and pledged themselves not to enter into any separate secret treaty with another court. She also took an active part with the allies in diplomatic correspondence, and boldly demanded of Russia the evacuation of the Principalities; and when Russia demanded of Austria a guarantee that hostilities should then terminate, Count Buol refused to give any stipulation, and insisted on the evacuation as a first condition. The Russians, failing to capture Silistria, were obliged to yield to necessity what they had refused to Austria.

Austria was very uncertain about the movements of Russia. She prepared for any contingencies which might arise by calling out, May 14, a levy of 94,000 men for the south-east and north-west provinces; and in the succeeding June, the emperor signed a treaty with Turkey, undertaking to occupy the Principalities, which the Archduke Albert effected with an army of 30,000 men, and to guarantee their integrity to the Porte. Francis Joseph was still most anxious to avoid hostilities with Russia. His army, amounting to more than 500,000 men already under arms, was draining the resources of his empire; and a war would necessitate a large increase, and augment the expense considerably. The country was in great distress, the exports were trifling, and most things were 50 per cent. above their usual price. Diplomacy, therefore, continued her fruitless struggles, and the conferences at Vienna opened in March 1855. The plenipotentiaries, however, could not agree upon the four points demanded by Lord John Russell; and while Austria and Prussia preserved their neutrality, the allies vigorously prosecuted the war.

Austria was still anxious to find out some plan of securing peace; and after the fall of Sebastopol in September 1855, she renewed her diplomatic efforts. She ascertained the terms on which the western powers were prepared to treat; and towards the close of the year, she sent a note to St. Petersburg as a basis of peace, which the emperor accepted. The plenipotentiaries of the powers met in conference at Paris; where, after many sittings, they signed the treaty of peace, March 31, 1856, which was ratified April 27; and during the interval between the signing and the ratification, Austria, France and England, distrustful of Russian sincerity, entered into a secret alliance to guarantee the performance of the treaty they had signed.

In November 1855, the emperor signed a concordat with the pope by which the whole empire was exposed to Jesuitical influence and control. It contains thirty-six articles, and proclaims the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic religion throughout the empire. It gives to the ecclesiastics and laity free communication with Rome, without the intervention of the temporal power; it invests the bishops with unlimited control over the clergy, schools, teachers of theology, and middle-class schools, and full power to suppress all books they may consider dangerous; and it revives the terrible ecclesiastical courts for the punishment of the clergy and laity, and for the regulation of marriages. Europe stood amazed at the spectacle of the young emperor thus surrendering his dominions to ecclesiastical rule; and

the Austrian Protestants uttered a cry of alarm at the persecution which they could plainly see awaited them.

Italy has ever been a source of weakness and fear to the Austrian empire. Since the treaty of 1815, the cabinet of Vienna has resolutely opposed every manifestation of freedom, whether by Italian sovereigns or their people; and has marched her armies to overawe the one, and crush down the other. There is not a state which she has not held for some time to uphold the tyranny of despotism. Since the treaty of Vienna she has thus occupied Piedmont for two years, Naples for five years, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma for six years each, and the Papal States for twenty-five years. Throughout the peninsula, with the exception of Piedmont, her principles have been triumphant; and the results are seen in the crowded gaols, the exiled families, the blighted fields, and the muffled disaffection of the heavily-taxed and ill-fed Italians. The condition of Sardinia has been long offensive in the eyes of the emperor. He could not forgive her independent conduct in joining the allies and Turkey, while Austria held back through fear, and uniting with France in recommending at the conference of Paris the union of the Danubian provinces; and his jealousy has been excited by the constitutional freedom which flourishes in the kingdom of Sardinia, and commands the admiration of the liberty-loving Italians, and which he would long ago have trampled upon if Sardinia had not earned powerful support among European nations.

Austria was opposed to the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, because she dreaded the progress of liberal principles in the Principalities. "The world," she said, "does not want a second and modern Sardinia between the Danube and the Pruth and Carpathians." She refused to evacuate them, drained their resources to support her troops, and early in October 1856, occupied Galatz with 4,000 men, and seized the ports of the Danube, and attempted to justify her conduct by pleading the example of Russia in occupying the Isle of Serpents.

The efforts of the emperor to tranquilise Italy only increased its disaffection, and aroused the free spirit of Piedmont. When Radetzky increased the garrisons in Parma to 3,000, and the Lombardian army to 120,000 men, Sardinia began to prepare for defence, and voted one million francs to repair the fortresses of Alessandria. The emperor visited Italy in November 1856, but he was received with the greatest coolness; the crowds did not call for his appearance, nor did the nobility appear to welcome him or grace his court. Even the appointment of the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian in February 1857, as governor of Lombardy, did not afford much hope to the oppressed Italians. This wise and benevolent prince was greatly opposed to the centralisation of Count Buol, and for some time refused to accept the office, unless reforms were made and privileges restored to the people; and when he did accept it, he refused to be controlled by the council at Vienna, and received his orders from the emperor himself. The people, however, had no faith in their sovereign, and still manifested their hatred of

Austrian rule by abstaining from the use of tobacco, and insulting every one found smoking. Sardinia took active measures for her safety, and formed a camp of 20,000 men at Alessandria; and Austria referred in her diplomatic correspondence to the conduct of Sardinia, as a great political grievance, and requested the disbandment of the camp, the extradition of political refugees, and the demolition of recent fortifications.

A growing coolness had sprung up between Austria and France during the year 1858, in consequence of the correspondence which passed between the two courts respecting Italian reforms, and the threatened occupation of Servia by Austrian troops; which reached its climax at the levee on the first day of the new year, when Napoleon III. said to M. Hübner, the Austrian minister, "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were, but I request you to tell the emperor that my personal feelings for him have not changed." The astonishment, which these words created in Europe, was increased by the speech of the King of Sardinia, January 10, 1859, in which he said, "The political horizon is not clear, but the future must be awaited with firmness. The future cannot fail to be fortunate because the policy of Piedmont is based on justice, and love of its country's liberty. Piedmont is small, but great in the councils of Europe on account of the principles it represents, and the sympathies it inspires. It respects treaties, but is not insensible to Italy's cry of anguish."

This "cry of anguish" was resounding from all parts, especially from the Lombardian cities where a great ferment was going on. Before the king uttered his speech, the Austrians had reinforced their garrisons, and revictualled their fortresses, and dispatched a new corps d'armée into Lombardy. The threatening aspect of Austria induced Sardinia to unite herself more closely to France by a matrimonial alliance between Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde, the eldest daughter of the king; and to obtain from the chambers, February 10, a vote of fifty millions sterling for the military defence of the kingdom. "Austria has lately," said Count Cavour, "taken a menacing attitude towards us. It has increased its military forces at Piacenza. It has collected very large forces on our frontiers. Therefore the necessity arises for us to look for means for the defence of the State." The preparations for war were carried on with the greatest energy by Austria, France, and Sardinia, notwithstanding each sovereign professed the most peaceful spirit. Diplomatic relations between Sardinia and Austria were broken off; and in Count Buol's letter to the Austrian minister in London, February 25, he justifies the measure by attributing aggressive designs and revolutionary tendencies to Piedmont, as manifested in several inflammatory articles which appeared in the Sardinian press; and promises that Austria will abstain from hostilities as long as Sardinia keeps within her own borders.

The threatening state of affairs induced England to interpose her good offices to prevent the outbreak of war, Lord Cowley, British ambassador at Paris, was dispatched to Vienna to confer with Count

Buol, and to endeavour to arrange the differences between the hostile parties. On his return to Paris, he found that secret negotiations had been going on during his absence between France and Russia, which resulted in the proposal by the latter court to hold a congress of the five great powers. This was agreed to; and during the discussion of the basis on which it should meet, two points arose as to the composition of the congress, and the disarmament of the powers antagonistic to each other. It was at length agreed that, as the congress was to consider the state of Italy, the Italian states should be represented; but the second point remained unsettled. Austria at first demanded the disarmament of Sardinia previous to the congress, which she afterwards modified to a general disarmament; and France agreed to the principle, but wished to consider its details when the congress had assembled. Meanwhile Austrian troops were pouring into Italy, and the sound of preparation for war was heard in all the Germanic states. France was concentrating her troops at Toulon; and her battalions were standing ready either to cross the Alps, or to embark for Genoa. Sardinia resounded with warlike preparations; and Garibaldi was organising a corps of Italian volunteers to avenge the wrongs of his country.

At length the diplomatic efforts were brought to a sudden termination. The *aide de camp* of General Gyulai was despatched to Turin to demand from Sardinia the reduction of her army to a peace footing, and the disbandment of her corps of volunteers, and was instructed to wait three days for an answer, and then depart. On the 26th of April Cavour returned a dignified refusal to the demands of Austria; and Francis Joseph, in deference to the mediation of England, postponed the declaration of war for three days. France, however, declined the overtures of the British government; and on the 29th, the Austrians crossed the Ticino. France then hurled her declaration of war against Austria, and her troops crossed Mount Cenis, and poured by thousands into Genoa, whence the railways conveyed them towards Turin and Alessandria to co-operate with the Sardinians. The Italian war commenced.

The movements of the Austrians were checked by the flooded state of the country; and after several erratic marches they took up a strong position between the Sesia and the Po, and levied contributions on the surrounding towns and villages. Napoleon placed himself at the head of the French army, and Victor Emmanuel took the supreme command of the Sardinians; and the allied sovereigns established their head-quarters at Alessandria. Skirmishes were frequent between the advanced parties on both sides; the Sardinians repulsed the Austrians at Valenza, when they attempted to cross the Po, and caused them to abandon Voghera; and Garibaldi, at the head of his brave volunteers, surprised them at Vercelli, and took four hundred prisoners.

General Gyulai was very uncertain respecting the position and strength of the allied army. He, therefore, May 20, ordered General Zobel, with 15,000 Austrians, to move towards Montebello, which was held by the Piedmontese, and reconnoitre their position.

A bloody encounter ensued. General Forey marched to the support of the Sardinians; and after a severe hand-to-hand contest, he succeeded in driving the Austrians from Montebello, which they had taken, and Casteggio. The success of the allies induced the King of Sardinia to attempt to cross the Sesia. The Austrians were strongly intrenched at Palestro; but the impetuosity of the Piedmontese carried the position, after inflicting severe loss on the enemy, May 31. The Austrians, 25,000 strong, attempted to regain the village; but they were driven back with great slaughter, and forced to retreat.

Meanwhile Garibaldi was threatening the Austrian rear by his rapid and successful movements. He marched towards the Valteline to rouse the population, entered Varese with 6,000 men, where the Austrian garrison had been expelled by the people, defeated the Austrians who opposed him, and triumphantly marched into Como. He attempted to take the fortified town of Laveno, but was obliged to retire by the advance of a superior force; and after a mysterious disappearance for a few days, he suddenly again appeared to chase the retreating Austrians from Varese.

The allied sovereigns broke up their head-quarters at Alessandria, and followed the retrograde movements of the Austrians. They crossed the Ticino, and came upon the enemy at Magenta, a small Lombardian town on the high road to Milan. A bloody conflict took place on the 4th and 5th of June at this place, and also at Turbigo, where the Austrians were defeated. General M'Mahon, then created Duke of Magenta, turned the tide of victory towards the French, who lost 3,000 killed and wounded, while the Austrians lost nearly 10,000 men. They, however, retreated in good order, evacuated Milan, Pavia and Lodi, and pursued their march along the high road towards the Adda. Milan triumphantly received the French and Sardinian sovereigns. Napoleon ordered Baraguay d'Hilliers to occupy the position of Malegnano, which the Austrians had fortified to cover their retreat. An engagement took place there on the 8th; and after three hours' hard fighting it was carried at the point of the bayonet. The Austrians still continued their retreat, followed by the allied army. They were completely deceived by the movements of the French; they abandoned Piacenza, and its gigantic fortifications, and re-organised their army on the banks of the Mincio.

The disasters of the Austrians created a great sensation in Vienna, and throughout Germany. Count Buol had resigned before the battle of Montebello, and Count Rechberg accepted the vacant post. The officers were clamorous for the dismissal of Gyulai; and Francis Joseph, accompanied by General Hess, commander-in-chief, set out for Italy to take the command of his army. The troops, however, were unable to withstand the lively assaults of the French, and the rapid onsets of the Italians; and the flames of insurrection were spreading fiercely on all sides. The Lombardian towns had proclaimed Italian liberty; the duchies of Parma and Modena were in open revolt; Tuscany was held by Prince Napoleon, whose troops were advancing on the Austrian left to join the main army; the Tyrol

was threatened by Garibaldi; Hungary was about to be aroused by the intrigues of Kossuth and his coadjutors; and Venice was threatened by a large number of gun-boats.

The Austrians made one more effort to retrieve their fortunes. Francis Joseph commanded his army in person; and after passing the Mincio, he ordered his troops to re-cross the river, and take up a strong position near the village of Solferino, between the Mincio and the Chiese, June 24. The allies advanced to meet him; and the two armies, numbering together about 450,000 men, extended their lines nearly twelve miles. The right and left wings of the Austrians were for some time successful, but their centre at Solferino was routed, and their wings were obliged to retire in order that they might not be outflanked. The slaughter was terrific on both sides; the Austrians crossed the Mincio unopposed by the French; and four days elapsed before the allied army set out in pursuit of the foe.

Great preparations were made for renewing the contest. Prince Napoleon united his forces with the allies; Verona was about to be invested, Peschiera besieged, and Venice bombarded; and all eyes were directed towards the Adige as the place where the Austrians would probably accept another battle, before they took refuge under the guns of the celebrated quadrilateral of fortresses which threaten Northern Italy. Both combatants however were afraid to risk further warfare. Napoleon dreaded an extension of the arena of conflict, which his next move would entail, and Austria felt unable alone to grapple with her energetic foe. Europe was taken by surprise when, on the 8th of July, an armistice for five weeks was proposed by Napoleon, and accepted by Francis Joseph; and was still more astonished to learn that the two emperors had an interview with each other at Villafranca on the 12th, when they arranged and signed a treaty of peace, without the intervention of their ministers. The treaty stipulated that the Italian States be formed into a confederation under the honorary presidency of the pope; that the Emperor of Austria give up his rights over Lombardy to Napoleon, who remits them to the King of Sardinia; that Austria retain Venetia, and the four celebrated Italian fortresses; and that the princes of Modena and Tuscany be restored to their dominions.

Whether Italy will accept these conditions, and quietly settle down under the double tyranny of Austria and the pope, exercised by means of a confederate assembly, the future alone can disclose. At the present moment "Italy's cry of anguish" is still heard, and the lament is expressed that the promises which Napoleon held out to the Italians have been unfulfilled, the hopes which he enkindled have been blighted, and the pleasing dreams of liberty and nationality which aroused their patriotism have been dispelled by the cold touch of iron-handed absolutism.



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